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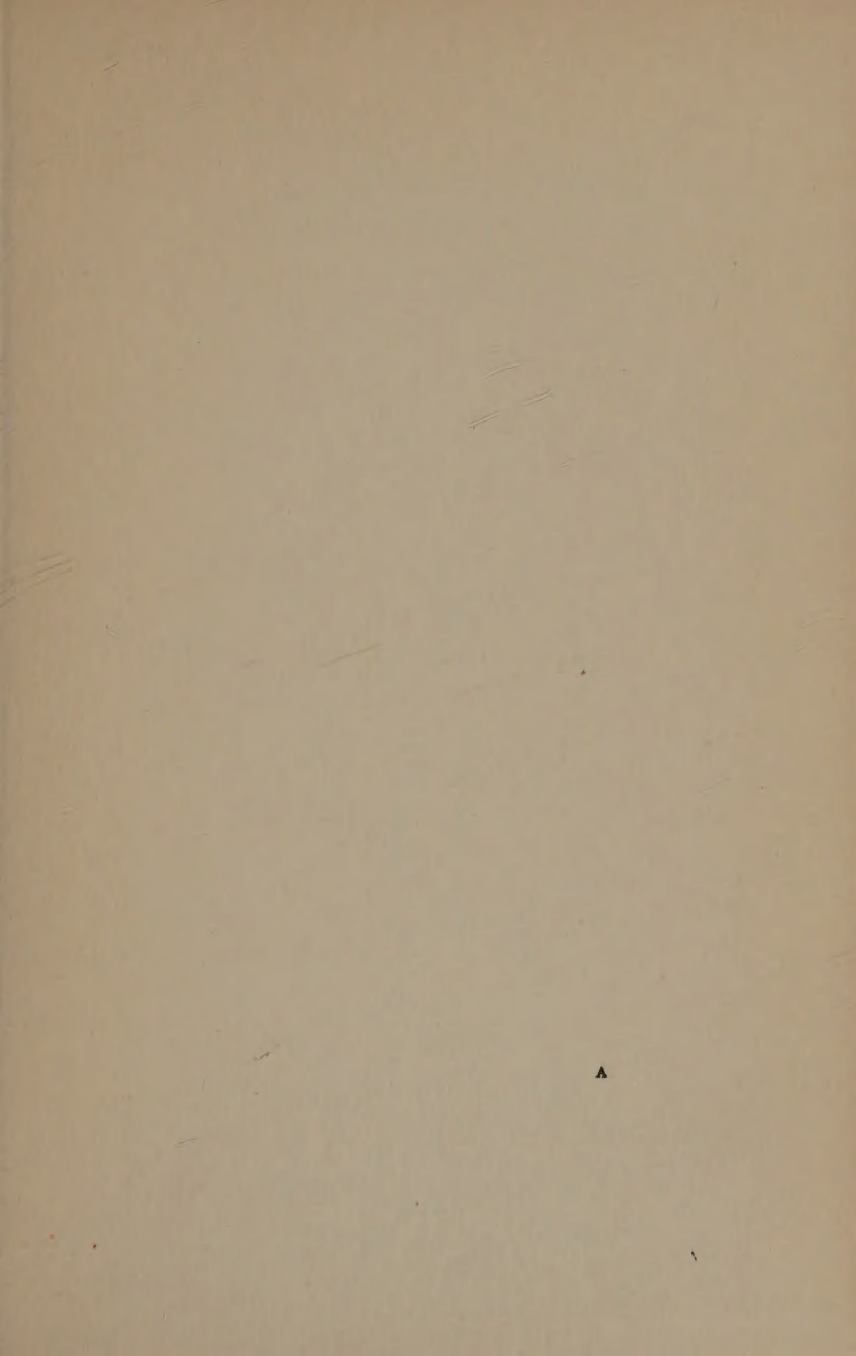
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The Diary of the  
LADY ANNE CLIFFORD

## KNOLE AND THE SACKVILLES

BY V. SACKVILLE-WEST.

"This book is the very soul and substance of history . . . the great house comes to life and reveals itself as the most essentially English of English things."—*Morning Post*.

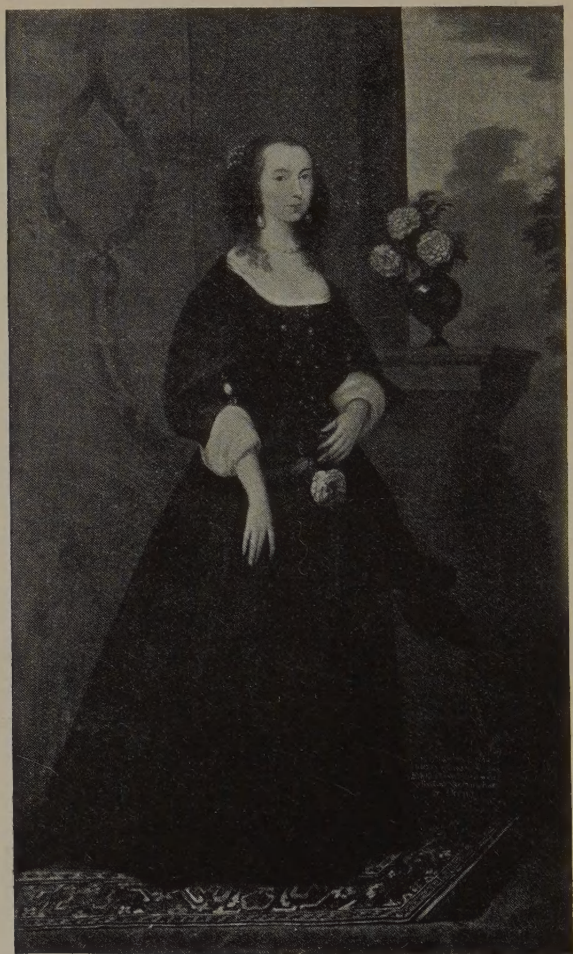
"Miss Sackville-West could hardly have found a subject better suited to her taste and powers."—*Sunday Times*.

"Whatever she does with her pen she does it like a craftsman and a master . . . a book which is about something quite memorably worth while, and also is obviously written by somebody who matters."—J. L. Garvin in the *Observer*.

"A volume worthy in every respect of Knole's romantic past."—*Times*.







*[From the Portrait at Knole by Mytens]*

Lady Anne Clifford, wife of Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl  
of Dorset

INTRODUCTORY, ANNE CLIFFORD  
" HERBERT, countess of, 1590-1676

# The DIARY

"  
*of the* Lady

## ANNE CLIFFORD

WITH AN *INTRODUCTORY NOTE*

By

V. SACKVILLE-WEST

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LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, wife of Richard  
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# INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A brief account of the life of LADY ANNE CLIFFORD Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, & Montgomery, 1590-1676.

## I

LADY ANNE CLIFFORD was born at the sturdy little Norman castle of Skipton in Craven in the year 1590, the only daughter of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, and his wife Margaret Russell. Lord Cumberland, at the date of his daughter's birth, was absent at sea upon one of the many voyages he undertook "for the service of Queen Elizabeth, for the good of England, and of his own person," and in this phrase of Lady Anne's lies the summing-up of the adventurous and romantic career of a father she can but rarely have seen. For the Elizabethan Lord Cumberland, with his personal beauty, his golden armour, his pointed diamond ring, and the Queen's glove in his cap, was, like many of his less exalted contemporaries, little more than a buccaneer upon the maritime trade routes of France and Spain, "these marine adventures



being neither his profession nor yet urged by necessity thereunto, yet such was his lordship's natural inclination." On eleven separate occasions his lordship's natural inclination prompted him to fit out a fleet (at his own expense) and to set sail for the River Plate, for Costa Rica, the Azores, the Canaries, or the coasts of Spain and Portugal, with the frank intention of plundering such towns as he could reduce and of taking captive such foreign merchantmen as he should encounter. He was wounded in battle, he nearly died of thirst, he was all but wrecked, but, undeterred, after each return to England he at once set about organising a fresh expedition, "his spark of adventure further kindled and inflamed by former disasters."

## II

The father and mother of the diarist, betrothed as children, were married (1577) to one another in the presence of Queen Elizabeth at the ages of nineteen and seventeen respectively. Immediately after their union they travelled to the North, for it must be borne in mind that although Lady Anne's two marriages brought her south to Knole



in Kent and to Wilton in Wiltshire, and although the Diary reproduced in the following pages was written chiefly at Knole or in London, yet her true home as a daughter of the great Cliffords was in the north, and it was over the north that in the latter part of her life she was to rule so autocratically and with such satisfaction and fulfilment. The tale of the Clifford acres and castles is impressive—Appleby, Pendragon, Brougham, Brough, Barden, Skipton—but these estates at the time of Lord Cumberland's marriage were administered by his mother, Anne Dacre, a lady who had never been to London, and who received her son and his wife to live with her after the patriarchal fashion of a provincial tradition. This lady dying, however, four years later, the estates passed under Cumberland's control. Thus far, his disposition to roam had not declared itself, or at least had been held in check; he contented himself with horse-racing, tilting, hunting and other sports,—“other expensive sports,” wrote Lady Anne, who had an economical mind, later of her father—and was already well known for his splendour at Court, but in the absence of contrary evidence it is fair to presume that he led, for

the most part, the life of a great country landowner, on affectionate terms with his wife, until such time as he set out on his first expedition to the River Plate, that is to say, about nine years after his marriage, when, as Lady Cumberland put it, "he exchanged his country pleasures with new thoughts of greater worlds."

From this date (1586) onwards Lord Cumberland's life is one long record of adventure and absence. Elizabeth herself favoured him with more than the tolerance and secret delight that she was wont to accord under the cover of official censure to those of her captains who ranged the seas exasperating and plundering the King of Spain. "It may seem strange to you," she wrote to Cumberland, "that we should once vouchsafe to trouble our thoughts with any care for any person of roguish condition, being always disposed rather to command others to chasten men of that profession. Provided always," she added with characteristic prudence and duplicity, "you do not requite this our good meaning with bewraying our extraordinary care of you to our Knight Marshal, who may by this our partiality to you abroad grow bold hereafter

in favouring them at home, whom we would not have him suffer to pass uncorrected for divers their misdemeanours." There was indeed much in her sea-captains which might appeal to the temper of Elizabeth. It is hard to believe that the spirit which animated them did not find a response in the heart of that kingly woman. For Elizabeth was one to whom courage was dear, and who would not quail before an enemy either in taunt or in retort ; Elizabeth with her high, pale face, her miserable health, and her fiery blood, strange enamelled figure-head, the presiding symbol of an age when the arrogance of the race reflected as by birth-right in every English phrase as even the most unlettered set pen to paper. Nor was it the adventure alone which kindled the Queen, but the loot of the Spanish seas which flattered her cupidity. The merchants of London hung round the Devon ports waiting for the return of battered and triumphant ships ; gold, silver, precious stones, spices, bales of silk, lay heaped upon the quays of Plymouth and of Dartmouth ; thieves pilfered from the fringes of the uncounted spoil and made off with their booty into the wilds of the great western moors ;

while in London the Queen sat making out the claims of her share in conference with her Lord Treasurer.

Setting out upon their southerly course, the little English squadrons might fall in with possible prizes as soon as they had lost sight of the shores of England. Whether their objective was the coast of Spain or Portugal, or the Azores, or South America, no day upon the waters was without its hope of sighting French or Spanish merchantmen, of provoking a quarrel, and of adding the captured prizes to their number. So swollen, the English ships proceeded towards the coasts where they might find towns waiting to be sacked and vessels rich with cargo at anchor in the harbour, or sent home their prisoners as reminders to their countrymen that emissaries of England were at large upon the seas, daring and waspish, cruising for months or perhaps even for years, lost to ken, for all practical purposes, until one day their tiers of sail should range up again upon the misty horizon of the Channel. Such a life, full of the hazardous and the impromptu, eclipsed for George Clifford the silken attractions of the Court or of a rural and domestic existence in the heart of his

own estates. It was true that from time to time he would appear in the tilt-yard, in complete armour, visor lowered, lance in hand,

“ And plumes and pendants all as white  
as swan,”

as the Knight of Pendragon, taking into his mouth the extravagant rhetoric proper to the Queen's Champion ; but Cumberland, for all his splendour, was no Court popinjay, and it was not such tinsel pageantry that could hold him for long away from the rough adventure of his piracy or the enticement of the sea.

### III

During the twelve years from 1586 to 1598 he fitted out as many expeditions, the greater proportion of which he accompanied in person, encountering every kind of danger, from sickness, battle, thirst, and weather, “ avoiding no part of distress that others, even the meanest seaman, endured,” and his spirit remaining, according to the superb and typical phrase, “ higher than the winds and more resolutely by storms compact and

united in itself." The first of these expeditions carried him to Brazil, with three ships and a pinnace, but it was not until his third voyage that he fell in with the full measure of prizes and perils. Sailing (1589) with the *Victory*, a ship of the royal navy, and six other ships equipped at his own expense, he arrived back at Falmouth six months later with over a score of captured vessels richly laden, having furthermore attacked and taken the town of Fayal in the Azores, having been himself seriously wounded, and having with all his men nearly perished of thirst and shipwreck on the return journey in the angry Irish seas. It was recorded, however, with pride, that although the English were reduced to vinegar and hailstones, and even to putting bullets in their mouths to slake their thirst, yet they spared what they could for the Spanish prisoners in the hold, "notwithstanding our great extremity, to teach them some humanity instead of their accustomed barbarity both to us and other nations heretofore."

Glittering, sumptuous, and redolent, the catalogue of the treasure brought home from this and other voyages.

"They unladed and discharged about five

millions of silver all in pieces of eight or ten pound great, so that the whole quay lay covered with plates and chests of silver, besides pearls, gold, and other stones which were not registered."

"The principal wares after the jewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light) consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, quilts, carpets and colours. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cinnamon, green ginger ; the drugs were benjamin, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, zocotrine, and camphire ; the silks : damasks, taffetas, sarcenets, altobassos (that is counterfeit cloth of gold), unwrought China silk, sleaved silks, white twisted silk, curled cypress. The calicoes were book calicoes, calico lawns, broad white calicoes, fine starched calicoes, coarse white calicoes, brown broad calicoes, brown coarse calicoes. There were also canopies and coarse diaper towels, quilts of coarse sarcenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turkey, whereunto are to be added the pearl, musk, civet, and ambergris."

"Elephants' teeth, porcelain, vessels of china, coconuts, hides, ebon wood as black as jet, bedsteads of the same ; cloth of the

rinds of trees very strange for the matter and artificial in workmanship."

"Mother-of-pearl, porcelain dishes, raw silk, cloves, calicoes, pearls, rubies, and mace, cinnamon, nutmegs, pepper, elephants' tusks, turkey carpets, white calico, quilts, sarcenet, jewels, stones, pearls, musk and ambergris, 8,500 quintals of pepper, 900 of cloves, 700 of cinnamon, 500 of cochineal, 540 of other merchandise with much musk, diamonds, and other precious stones."

"Of white small diamonds, 200 ; of small rubies, 1,027 ; of great rubies, 358 ; of sparks of diamonds, 1,972 ; of great diamonds, 96 ; of other diamonds, 551 ; of orient pearls, 880 ; of pieces of gold, 7 ; of cinnamon, 3 bags ; of Indian hides, 100 ; of gold rings, 10 ; one fashioned as a dragon, with four rubies, a sapphire, and a pearl, six with rubies and one with five large rubies."

All this and more was trundled out on to the English quays, together with ropes, corn, bacon, copper, all in great store, negroes, monkeys, and Spanish prisoners, dark seamen with silver rings in their ears, herded together, sullen and aloof. Behind the ports lay the south-western counties, with their high moors, their creeks and rivers, their



uninhabited regions proper for the secrets of smuggling and robbery, and the arterial roads to London, along which the merchants must travel, exposed to assault either by footpads or by the officers of her Majesty, jealous that no spoil should leak unregistered into the pockets of Lombard Street and the City. There were disquieting reports both of pilfering and of private dealings with the sailors; "nine hundred stones have been found in Weymouth"; "the seamen had gold and musk"; "a mariner has offered him rubies and diamonds"; another has "a peck of pearls"; another—a thief this one—has "a chain of pearls orient, two rests of gold, four very big pearls of the bigness of a fair pea, four forks of crystal and four spoons of crystal set with gold and stones, and two cods of musk"; and more to the same purpose; so that after the arrival of a notably rich carrack the Queen despatched Sir Robert Cecil "post haste to hinder more plundering" to Dartmouth; and Raleigh himself was specially released from the Tower under guard of a keeper, Mr. Blount, as it was thought that his authority alone would carry sufficient weight in the west country. "If I meet any of them coming up [to

London],” he wrote to Burghley, “if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way I mean to strip them as naked as ever they were born”; and in a letter written to Lord Burghley, from Exeter, Cęcil says: “Every one I met within seven miles of Exeter that either had anything in a cloak, bag, or malle which did but smell of the prizes either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I could well smell them also, such had been the spoils of amber and musk amongst them) I brought back to Exeter. I stayed any who might carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth at the gates of the town and compelled them also to tell me where any trunks or malles were, and finding the people stubborn committed two innkeepers to prison, which example would have won the Queen £20,000 a week past. I found already in a shop a bag of seed pearl, pieces of damask, cypresses and calico, a very great pot of musk, certain tassels of pearl and divers other things.”

It is not a very edifying story, this of the Queen, the captains, the Treasury, and the common thieves wrangling all together for possession of a spoil which, after all, rightfully belonged to the King of Spain. But with the Queen setting the example, the

smaller fry could scarcely be blamed for following suit. And the Queen was vigilant over her rights; no pepper might be put upon the London market until her Majesty's pepper had been disposed of; no dutiable article might evade the customs; the captains themselves, who had borne the hardships, must go discontented provided her Majesty's demands were satisfied.

"I shall presently draw little to fill those purses it hath emptied," wrote Lord Cumberland of one of his expeditions, "having as your ladyship well knows been only a fire-maker for others to warm themselves at"; and in the same letter he puts forward a justification for himself and other marauding adventurers: "We should mightily offend him that bestowed this rare blessing upon us, to let slip this gracious-given opportunity of drawing a perpetual trade that will not only enrich our country, but breed numbers of men to strengthen the walls of our realm and leave a blessed memory of Queen Elizabeth, that in her time and by her endeavour that honest mean was found and settled, that whilst the world endureth shall make England rich and invincible as without question multitude of ships and mariners

will make it, both which this breed in abundance."

## IV

His continual absences were not without their effect upon the private life of Lord Cumberland. The marriage which had begun with promise grew gradually looser in its ties, until towards the end husband and wife were living definitely apart. "When my mother and he did meet," wrote Lady Anne, "their countenance did show the dislike they had of one another, yet he would speak to me in a slight fashion and give me his blessing." Their relations were further complicated by the fact that he "fell to love a lady of quality," who remains anonymous, and no doubt, having regard to Cumberland's gaudy personality and high spirit, his misdemeanours were many, for in his last letter to his wife, written on his death-bed, he begs her forgiveness for all the wrongs he has done her. Lady Cumberland herself, the "sweet and dear Meg," the "dear pledge" of her husband's early letters, the mother of two little boys who died aged five and six years old, within two years of one another,

comes down to us as a sad figure, "looking," in her own words, "as a ghost that wanted the soul of comfort," grey-eyed, pensive, and delicate, consoled only by religion and charity, a distiller of medicinal waters, a dabbler in alchemy, an expert in the properties of plants, flowers and herbs, and in her manner civil and courteous to all sorts of people. She has left behind her an account of her own life, an almost unbearably tragic document, dividing her life into sevenths, each seventh more disastrous than the one preceding it, with the brief oasis of happiness in her early marriage, yet that also turns all too quickly to "my old note of sorrow." This poor lady, indeed, found little pleasure in life save in her daughter, whose good angel she was, and in whose character she implanted those stern principles of religion which appear in the form of scriptural quotations and allusions to point the moral of many paragraphs in Lady Anne's voluminous writings. At the same time, it must not be thought that Lady Cumberland was by nature either melancholy, pessimistic, or feeble, for Lady Anne expressly states that she was naturally of a high spirit, never yielding to ill fortune or opposition, with a great, sharp, natural wit; and to

corroborate this account of Lady Anne's—which without corroboration might well be ascribed to daughterly prejudice—we have Lady Cumberland's actions to judge her by, in the determined support she gave to her daughter's celebrated dispute over the clauses of Lord Cumberland's will, involving as it did Lady Anne's husband, half the Court, and all the angry Cliffords, until the King himself was drawn into the quarrel, but his intervention set at naught by Lady Anne, with her mother as her sole close ally.

## V

Few tasks of the historian or biographer can be more misleading than the reconstruction of a forgotten character from the desultory evidence at his disposal, yet into no task does he rush so glibly or with so much assurance. We should ourselves be sorry to think that posterity should judge us by a patchwork of our letters, preserved by chance, independent of their context, written perhaps in a fit of despondency or irritation, divorced, above all, from the myriad little strands which colour and compose our peculiar existence, and which in

their multiplicity, their variety and their triviality, are vivid to ourselves alone, uncommunicable even to those nearest to us, sharing our daily life. We should read, were it permitted us to return for an hour to earth and to find the survival of our fame enshrined in some small volume or embalmed in the notebook of some devout descendant, we should read with amazement the unrecognisable rendering, the piously and unconsciously garbled version. "What!" we should say, "was I indeed so intractable, or so vacillating, or so deserving of pity? For no particular reason I was gay, for no particular reason I was cast down. True, I was compelled to severity,—but why label me harsh? True, I fell in love,—but why damn me as swayed by my passions? On the whole, reviewing myself candidly, I seem neither to have been more stern, or frivolous, or inconstant, or malicious, or irascible, or easy-going, or dissolute, than other men." Add to this, that the biographer is dealing with an age not his own; steep himself as he may in the atmosphere of his subject, be he never so detailed and so accurate, he will still be in the position of a man trying to impart a craft he has never practised or to describe a

country he has never seen. Facts he may offer, and in abundance ; comments he may make, strict, considered, and in the main exact ; but still the intimate familiarity will not be his ; he will not know, in his subconscious mind, precisely what view will open out round the next turn of the road ; the shape and texture of the circumstances will not form an intrinsic part of his being. Still, since within our limitations it is necessary to arrive at some conclusions, certain facts do emerge, which, hanging together with as much consistency as may reasonably be asked of the shilly-shally of human nature, enable us to build up a portrait of perhaps sufficient resemblance to the original, always remembering that a portrait, even when painted from the life, is no more than an interpretation according to the individual conception of the painter.

## VI

I imagine Anne Clifford, then, in a childhood restrained on the one hand by the severe and virtuous influence of an ever-present mother, and coloured on the other hand by the fable of an adventurous and



almost legendary father ; a childhood spent against the background of feudal castles and estates in the north, and, in the south, amongst young cousins and stately aunts, with the extraordinary painted figure of the Queen, somewhere, high up, in London, moving, like a thread of awe, through the talk of aunts and uncles ; I imagine her as a neat and meticulous child, keeping her accounts in a note-book with that precision which followed her throughout life until she hardened into the autocratic old woman of her later years. I know that she kept silkworms ; that she bought herself an hour-glass for fourpence ; that she was allowed to give a children's party and to hire musicians to play at it ; that she bought herself a bunch of feathers for her hair, a pair of green stockings, and a mask ; that she overate herself on fruit and made herself ill. I know that she rewarded servants and messengers with gracious little presents, which, however, were duly entered against their names in her account book. I know that she sat over her lessons with her governess, Mrs. Taylour, and with her more celebrated tutor, Samuel Daniel, who, respectful and devoted as he was to both his pupil and her mother,

yet wrote to his friends behind their back to lament that "whilst I should have written the actions of *men* I have been constrained to bide with *children*." I imagine that she listened with some interest to any mention of coming young men of her own rank, and wondered for which of them she would be destined.\* But, in spite of the life that went on inside her head, I imagine that she was a strictly brought-up little girl, in her stiff clothes, dutiful and prim in the presence of her elders, exact in her pious observances, and with a very complete sense of her own dignity.

When Lady Anne was fifteen her father died, leaving behind him a will which was the cause of protracted litigation, and of which, for the better understanding of the diary, it is necessary briefly to explain here.

\* On this subject she wrote thus, aged fifteen, to her mother:—

"I have had a great deal of talk with my Lord (presumably her father) about that matter you know of, for that match, and my Lord hath promised me that there shall nothing pass for any match whatsoever, but that your consent should be asked

as a chief matter. I beseech your Ladyship to pardon my boldness in writing to you thus rudely, and to let nobody know of these matters, though they be but trifling.

I rest, as I am bound by nature, love, and duty,

Your Ladyship's most obedient and dutiful daughter,

ANNE CLIFFORD.

He bequeaths to his brother, Sir Francis Clifford, the new Earl of Cumberland, his northern estates, with reversion to Lady Anne in the event of the failure of heirs male. But in so doing he was ignoring the fact that according to a deed executed as far back as the reign of Edward II, the estates were already entailed upon *his child*, irrespective of sex, and since Lady Anne was his only surviving child, she was the natural inheritor of the enormous property. Now Lady Anne and her mother were both equally determined to obtain possession of the lands to which, they contended, she was legally entitled. Sir Francis Clifford was similarly, and perhaps not unnaturally, determined to stick to what had been expressly bequeathed to him by the will. And presently, as will be seen in the Diary, a fourth element enters into the controversy in the person of Lady Anne's husband, who, spendthrift and prodigal that he was, would have had his wife renounce her rights or certain of her rights in consideration of a compromise for ready cash. Lady Anne, however, would have none of this. At first supported by her mother, after her mother's death she continued to fight single-handed, telling the

King himself when the King took her husband's part that "I would never part from Westmoreland while I lived upon any condition whatsoever." The Diary itself may be left to speak for the bullying and coercion that were put upon her, and it is only necessary to state here, since the Diary unfortunately covers only a few years of her life, that eventually she came quite peaceably into the possession of her estates, thirty-eight years after her father's death, and in accordance with the terms of his will, when her uncle Francis Clifford and his son Henry died within two years of one another and with no other heirs to dispute the claim.

## VII

Lady Anne, grown out of her childhood, rich, eligible, with the possibility of far greater wealth hanging in the balance, was a personage upon whom the eyes of London turned—the merry-making London of Ben Jonson and Prince Henry. The figure of Queen Elizabeth—at whose funeral Lady Anne had not been allowed to walk, "because I was not high enough"—had been replaced by a royal couple, James I and Anne of

Denmark, both of whom appear prominently in the Diary. Between them, they contrived to lack almost every quality of their great predecessor. The economy of Elizabeth's Court was now replaced by the extravagance dear to the frivolous soul of Anne of Denmark ; naively pleased at finding herself a queen, this empty-headed but not unlovable princess indulged to the full her taste for masques, jewels, and progresses, so that the Court came to be the centre of a pageantry which flattered and delighted the people, persuading them to overlook the faults, the Romish tendencies, and even the whispered scandals attaching to their queen, in their affection for her childish gaiety and her royal magnificence. A similar charm could scarcely be ascribed to the king. Hideous, feeble, vain, fidgety, sententious, James fell between two stools : he was alienated from the brilliant existence of his son and his consort, without the power in government to compensate for such alienation. Nevertheless, such as they were, they were King and Queen, and in the favour of the Queen Lady Anne stood high. She was a close friend, too, of Lady Arabella Stuart, she was related to half the fashion and influence about the Court, she

took part in masques and other festivities, and various proposals were made for her hand. The young man on whom the choice of her mother and guardians ultimately fell was one whose golden youth lay in very much the same high pastures as her own. A boon companion of Prince Henry's, addicted like him to tilting, bowling, cock-fighting, gambling and masqueing, conspicuous for his fine clothes, his lavish housekeeping, and his general extravagance, Richard Sackville Lord Buckhurst was married to Lady Anne only two days before his father's death made him Earl of Dorset. Richard Sackville's extravagance was not to be compared with the extravagance of Anne's father. Where Cumberland had poured away his substance in the fitting out of carracks and galleons, Dorset squandered his on clothes, hospitality, women, gaming—the first wastrel of a family which was to become notorious for its prodigality. Yet Lady Anne, whose economical mind must have suffered on numberless occasions at his wild spending, speaks of him always with affection and tolerance, though whether such sentiments were genuine or whether convention prompted them, we have no means of judging; but perhaps it is

as well to remember that in an age when the outward courtesies must always be observed, it is doubtful whether even a mind so bold as Lady Anne's would depart from convention to the extent of criticising her lord. Probably, too, she overlooked his shortcomings, if he was charming and careless according to the tradition of his type.

A bride of nineteen with a bridegroom of twenty, she was taken away to Knole, where her husband temporarily deserted her in order to complete his foreign travels. With Lady Anne at Knole, I feel the ground grow steadier under my feet, and there is less speculation, less hazarding, less drawing of an arrow that may or may not hit the mark—though no court of appeal can check me. For though I never saw Lady Cumberland moving gentle hands among the glasses of her distillery, or heard Samuel Daniel prose over his studies, or saw Queen Anne advance in the masque as Tethys Queen of Ocean, Knole I have seen as Anne Clifford saw it, quietly magnificent, down there in Kent, with its grey towers and wide lawns and glinting windows, and the flag floating high up in the cool empty blue. And as for the differences, it is easy to allow for them: to

eliminate from the walls the portraits that were not yet there, to populate the rooms which are now an uninhabited museum, to clear the public off the grass slopes of the park, to multiply the servants by ten and send them hurrying about their business. The scrivener, the falconer, the huntsman, the armourer, the slaughterman, the pages, the footmen, the grooms, the men to carry wood, Solomon the bird-catcher, John Morocco the blackamoor, all this life pullulated about the kitchens, the buttery, the outbuildings, and the stable-yard. In the laundry Mrs. Judith Simpton and Mrs. Grace Simpton presided over Anne Howse and Faith Husband and Goodwife Small; Anne Mills scrubbed the dairy; Penelope Tutty waited on the small Lady Margaret; Diggory Dyer and Marfidy Snipt clattered the pans in the scullery. Mr. Caldicott, my lord's favourite, —a sinister personage, this—rode down from London with unpleasant messages for her ladyship; and in the housekeeper's room Mrs. Grimsditch and Mrs. Stewkly tattled about the differences between their young lord and lady, or watched from a window their lady making her sad way out into the garden, her prayer-book under her arm.



Richard Dorset came and went, between Knole and London and Lewes and his other house at Buckhurst, bringing with him sometimes a train of companions, sometimes coming alone with his familiar Caldicott, to harass his wife over the perpetual question of her inheritance, sometimes kind and sometimes sullen, sometimes playing with his little girl and calling her his mistress, sometimes refusing to see the child and shutting himself up alone in his closet. Before all his moods his wife remained unmoved of purpose; sorrowful she might be, as she confided to her Diary, but renounce Westmoreland she would not. Dorset had not bargained for such obstinacy. This dour northern nature was not in accordance with his easy-going ideas, his love of pleasure, and his disregard of principle. Surely it were better to enjoy the splendours of the Court and the distractions of London than to cling to those wild heaths and moors, those barbarous castles, remote in the Border country? But no, Lady Anne would not see it that way. "Your land," wrote Dorset to her in a fit of exasperation, "transports you beyond yourself and makes you devoid of all reason"; and Lady Anne to her mother, "In everything

will I commend him, saving only in this business of my land, wherein I think some evil spirit works, for in this he is as violent as possible." Indeed Dorset, with his "noble ways," his clothes whose "extreme cost and riches make us all poor," and his "excess of expenditure in all the ways to which money could be applied, consuming almost the whole great fortune which descended to him," thought only of getting money, and more money, to pour out upon his ostentation and amusement. He sold his lands, he sold his London estates, he almost sold Knole itself; but out of Westmoreland he got not one penny save his wife's jointures. Thwarted and defrauded, he neglected no argument; he got the King on his side, he even took the child away from her mother to see if that would bring her to reason. But still she clung to Westmoreland.

Poor Lady Anne. And yet I think that that stubborn spirit was stimulated by a fight. Certainly she went through her life permanently embattled, whether her quarrel lay with her husbands,—for she had two, and fought with both of them—with her servants, her tradesmen, or her tenants, to all of whom she spoke her mind on some

occasion or other, or with Cromwell, whom she defied, or with Charles II, of whom she disapproved, or with a mere canvasser for parliamentary election, to whom she wrote, "I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan't stand."

## VIII

Of her life in her first marriage, and of her mother's death, the Diary may be left to speak more fully, with its detailing of her games, her clothes, her books, her daughter's afflictions, and the vicissitudes of the great people about the Court. The inclinations of Lady Anne are generously apparent in her writings; she liked gossip, she had strong family feelings, above all she liked anniversaries and coincidences, and would turn happily down any little by-path in order to ferret one out. She liked texts and maxims too, and would make her secretary copy her favourites for her, which she would pin up inside the curtains of her bed, where her eye might conveniently light upon them. As most of us are born for some indicated

function in life, although we may never have the good fortune to fulfil it, so was Lady Anne born to matriarchy. She was born to rule over houses and households, to tyrannise over her dependants, to have an enormous number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren, to record their births and christenings, to fuss after their alliances, to give advice,—and woe betide those who did not take it—to govern from the midst of a little court of her own, and to receive the homage of those who were summoned to visit her. And so I think I may safely say, without too great a stretch of that misleading imagination of the biographer, that it was not until she had passed her middle-age that she entered into her true province. She was not born to be a wife and a young mother; she was born to be a great-grandmother and a widow. The black serge and plain white wimple framing the hard old face became her more truly than the damask embroidered with gold that the tailor sent down to Knole from London was to make fit for her to wear after the French fashion. I suspect, also, that she was happier in her native north than in the south where her two marriages brought her, and where she was no more than a sojourner

in an alien country ; there was, I hazard, something in the moors and fells and in the keener air that accorded with her own temperament. Nor did she scruple to express her feelings about her two southern homes when she wrote " the marble pillars of Knole in Kent and Wilton in Wiltshire were to me oftentimes but the gay arbours of anguish." In the north there were no marble pillars. There were only the rough castles, whose very names, as Brough, Barden, Pendragon, the Baron's Chamber, and the Pagan Tower, were forbidding ; or there was Skipton, built upon a rock with a river flowing two hundred feet below, impregnable and inaccessible as Lady Anne herself. To one accustomed to such austerity, and to the dangerous tracks over the hills, Knole and Wilton must indeed have appeared courtly, among the orchards of Kent and the plains of Wiltshire.

But before she came to her own, Lady Anne must serve a long probation. Married to Dorset, she bore him five children, of whom the three boys died and the two girls alone survived. Dorset himself was not long-lived, dying in 1624 at the age of thirty-five, when his brother (with whom Lady Anne

was at daggers drawn) succeeded to Knole, and Lady Anne with her two little girls went to live partly at Bolebrooke, a Sackville dower-house in Sussex, and partly in London. She records that at the time of Dorset's death both her children were ill with small-pox, which she herself caught from them, and, rising from her bed to see her face martyred, thereupon took a vow never again to marry.

This resolution, however, she broke six years after Dorset's death, when she married, to the astonishment of her friends and relations, Philip Herbert Earl of Pembroke, a man whom Dr. Williamson describes as "violent and contemptible, indeed almost crazy, contemptuous of all culture, careless and cross, false, cruel and cowardly," and it has been suggested, to account for Lord Pembroke's side of the match, that "the very remoteness of the quarry, the difficulty of the quest, and the unusual character of the triumph, may have stimulated the jaded fancy of the most dissolute wastrel of the Court." Certainly the second marriage of Lady Anne was the triumph of hope over experience.

She was much pleased by the coincidence

that the church in which she was married contained the remains of her great-great-grandfather, her grandfather, her infant brother, and other of her relations.

On one point, at least, she was in agreement with her new husband, and that was over the urgency of enforcing her claim to her lands; I have no doubt that she took steps to have this matter quite clear between them before she consented to the match. But it was not long before other causes of dispute arose, or, as she calls it, "a great cause of anger and falling out," and Lady Anne's old obstinacy set into its accustomed lines. Lord Pembroke by a former wife had five grown sons, upon one of whom he wished to bestow the hand of Lady Anne's younger daughter, Lady Isabella Sackville—the elder daughter, Lady Margaret, "the Child" of the Diary, being already safely married to John Tufton Earl of Thanet. This dispute appears to have lasted for two years, until it was finally, and to Lady Anne's great satisfaction, removed by Isabella marrying James Compton Earl of Northampton, 1645. Meanwhile Lady Anne's grandchildren had begun to appear, for at the time of her sister's marriage Lady Thanet had already seven children. And

Lady Anne enjoys a whole batch of coincidences, in observing that Lady Northampton was now settled in Islington, near Clerkenwell, where Lady Anne and her mother had lived for a time during her childhood ; that Lord Northampton's house, Castle Ashby, should be so near Lilford, where, again, Lady Anne had been as a child with her mother ; and that Lady Thanet should be living in Kent, in which county was Knole. Intoxicated by these discoveries, Lady Anne went on to observe that Wilton itself was not far from Devonshire, where her mother was born, " so powerful an influence had her goodness over the destiny of her posterity. Psm. 112. Deut. 11, 12."

But meanwhile two far more important events than even the marriage of her daughters and the births of grandchildren had taken place to alter the fortunes of Lady Anne, and these were no less than the deaths of her uncle, Francis Lord Cumberland, 1641, and, two years later, 1643, of Henry his only son, without male issue. This meant, of course, that Lady Anne now came at last into natural possession of those lands for which she had fought for thirty-eight years. She makes no comment on the death of her uncle, save to



observe rather resentfully that he had lived to near fourscore and two years of age, but at the end of the laconic paragraph there is a reference : Job, 7, 1. I turned up the reference and read : "Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth ? Are not his days also like the days of a hireling ? "

## IX

So she came to her own at last, and George Clifford, with his mind full of galleons and his poor muddle-headed will, might rest forgiven in his grave. Henceforward, English history might stream by, disregarded by Lady Anne in the security of her fastnesses, save for the stinging phrase that leapt out like an occasional arrow, to remind people that the old fighter was still alive ; to Cromwell, once, that if he pulled her castles about her ears, she would build them up again as fast ; and later, under the Restoration, that she would not come to Court unless she might wear blinkers. Possibly the younger generation recalled her name from time to time, wondering what had become of the then young virago who had flouted King James, speculating whether it was not nearly

time for the news of her death to reach the Court ; but Lady Anne was strangely indifferent to public events, and, in the latter years of her life, as she grew harder and more self-centred, to any events not immediately concerning her own family or her dependants. She was too fully occupied in ordering her small kingdom, to pay much attention to the crises of the larger kingdom without. For she had found her property in a sad state of disrepair. " I employed myself," she wrote, " in building and reparations, and in causing the bounders to be ridden, and my court kept in my several manors, and in those kind of country affairs about my estate which I found in extreme disorder, by reason it had been so long kept from me, and in this time the suits and differences in law began to grow hot, between my tenants in Westmoreland and some of my tenants in Craven, and me."

There can be no doubt that this latter part of her life was congenial. Lawsuits with tenants were entirely to her taste, and in the restoration of her castles, and the building and endowment of her almshouses, she found equal satisfaction. " In these three ancient houses of mine inheritance, Appleby

Castle and Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, and Skipton Castle in Craven, I do more and more fall in love with the contentments of a country life. Which humour of mine I do wish with all my heart (if it be the will of Almighty God) may be conferred on my posterity that are to succeed me in these places ; for a wise body ought to make their own homes the place of self-fruition, and the comfortable part of their life. But this must be left to a succeeding Providence, for none can know what shall come after them, but to invite them to it, that saying in the sixteenth psalm may be fitly applied: The lot is fallen unto me in a pleasant place, I have a fair heritage. And I may truly say that verse :

From many noble progenitors I hold  
Transmitted lands, castles and honours  
which they swayed of old."

## X

It is upon this note that I should wish to leave Lady Anne, but that I think no account of her would be complete without some more detailed reference to those many years she spent lording it over the north, the terrible old great lady, in whose power the Hereditary

Sheriffwick of Westmoreland was vested. For although she had already reached her fifty-third year when the last of the male Cliffords died, thirty-three years yet remained to her in which to enjoy the possessions she so profoundly appreciated. With unabating energy she set about her administrations. Her first visit was to Skipton, which during the Civil Wars had endured a three years' siege, but she lost little time in hurrying on to Barden, for that Tower had been detached by the late Lord Cumberland from the rest of the estate, and bequeathed to his daughter, Lady Cork; but as Dr. Williamson observes, "it was not easy to fight with Lady Anne, and with respect to Barden, possession was nine points of the law, and as she intended it to include the tenth also, she went out immediately to Barden, took possession of it, and retained such possession the whole of her life." Lady Cork probably realised the hopelessness of entering into any contention with her cousin, and gave way, for Lady Anne states that many visits and courtesies passed between them, and though she admits that divers differences were on foot between them also, "we passed them by," she says, hurrying lightly over that part of the story.

Finding all of her castles more or less in a state of decay, without loss of time she ordered their repair ; and her tenantry, too, she found completely out of hand, so that Cromwell sent her word offering his intervention should she find herself unable to subject them. Lady Anne was indignant at this slight upon her capabilities. " Does he imagine," she exclaimed, " that I, who refused to submit to King James, will submit to *him* ? " The process of subduing the tenants was a long and expensive one, but Lady Anne had no more fear of the law than she had of Kings, Protectors, or husbands. To enforce her rights she dragged her tenants one by one into the courts ; and indeed there is one anecdote which at the risk of repeating myself I must tell again—for I have already related it in another place—of the tenant whose yearly rent included a hen to be paid to the lady of the manor. In order to secure this tribute, Lady Anne had to go to law and to spend £400 in winning her case, when she asked her adversary to dinner, and shared with him the disputed bird as the *pièce de résistance* of the meal.

Besides her buildings and her quarrels, much of her time was taken up in receiving

the visits of her relations, especially of her grandchildren, who were now numerous ; to be precise, Lady Anne before her own decease saw the birth of seventeen grandchildren and nineteen great-grandchildren, although only her two Sackville daughters had lived to grow up. In reading these memorials, one does not know whether to be more appalled by the fecundity or the mortality of the families. Lady Anne's two brothers had both died in early childhood ; her five sons, three Sackvilles and two Herberts, had died shortly after they were born ; her grandchildren, the Comptons, were a sad little family, four out of five dying at the ages of a few days, eight years, two years, and three years respectively ; of her great-grandchildren, three out of five little Coventrys died as mere babies. The Tuftons alone presented a sturdier resistance to life, eleven out of twelve surviving to adult estate. It is scarcely surprising to find that Lady Anne devoutly thanks God for any " safe coming home of theirs from me out of these northern parts."

I have left until the last that occupation which must have engaged the greater part of Lady Anne's leisure, and that is her

journeying backwards and forwards between her various castles. These progresses of hers are so well described by Dr. Williamson that I frankly extract the passage from his book, knowing that I could myself add no word either to vividness or detail :

“ Her journeys to and from her castles were conducted with all the elements of great state. She herself went in her horse-litter, her ladies-in-waiting, her gentlewomen, were in her coach drawn by six horses, her other great officials, her men-servants, on horseback, her women servants in another coach, and all the paraphernalia that accompanied such a vast crowd followed on behind. It must not be forgotten that in those days the bedding was carried from place to place, in addition to which, chairs, carpets, curtains, and tapestry hangings were moved away from one castle and placed in position in the next, ready for her use. In addition, however, to her own people, she was in the habit of being accompanied on several of these journeys by her neighbours and friends. In some instances she seems to have demanded their attendance, as she was the High Sheriff of the County and Lady of the Manor, and they were in many instances

her tenants, and perhaps in every case tenants under her manors paying to her some kind of manorial rent. She therefore appears to have had the privilege of summoning them to accompany her, and they did so on horseback when she made her progresses. She speaks of the neighbouring gentry, of the magistrates, of her own relatives, Sir Richard Lowther, Sir Philip Musgrave and others who came with her, and she appears to have been accompanied by all these people, sometimes over three hundred in number, until she reached the castle where she was going to reside, and then receiving them singly in her own room, she gave the 'men her hand, kissed the women,' and dismissed them all, and 'they returned home.'"

Backwards and forwards over the roads of Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland Lady Anne transported herself with this extraordinary caravan ; over the lonely roads between the moors and fells, over the innumerable bridges, in the rough wild country made musical by becks and waterfalls, dim with mist and shaggy as the mountain sheep that moved cropping among the boulders. In the middle trundled the great coach containing the old lady, lurching and lumbering



up and down the hills, with the harsh, pocked old face at the window in sharp scrutiny, and the women on the seat opposite clutching at the sliding bags and baskets, fearful of a reprimand. Lady Anne spared neither herself, her servants, or her horses. She delighted, on the contrary, in travelling by roads where never coach had been known to pass, and the ruder the journey the better she was pleased. She can have had, indeed, no difficulty in finding ways bleak enough to content her spirit, whether she removed from Pen-dragon to Brough by the forlorn valley of Mallerstang, or came from Brougham to Skipton by that grand desolate highway across Shap Fells, the clouds low upon the hills and all the culture and suavity of the south lying far off like some pretty frippery of youth outgrown and left behind for uncouth and more satisfying realities.

Nor does the tale of her journeyings exhaust the list of her activities. Besides her own castles, there were churches and bridges to be restored, stables and bakehouses and even a bee-house to be built, and a pillar to be erected on the spot where she had parted for the last time from her mother. There were tombs to be constructed commemorating

her father and her mother, and there was a vault to be prepared for her own reception, for although her first husband, Lord Dorset, had made provision by will for a monument to the memory of his wife in his own family vault, Lady Anne on hearing the will read aloud had burst into indignant protest, saying that they need leave no space either for her name or her effigy, since in the north she would be buried and in no other place. Her monument in Appleby Church is simple and severe, of black marble encrusted with the small coloured shields of her long lineage. There were, moreover, stone slabs to be set up on each one of her castles, recording that she, "Countess Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vesci, Lady of the Honour of Skipton in Craven, and High Sherifffess of Westmoreland," had restored the castle from the ruinous state in which she found it; the religious allusion must of course not be missing, and, like most of her allusions, must be apposite: "Thou shalt build up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." And not least of the many things that busied her,

there was the detailed control she exercised over her immediate household, scolding or rewarding her servants according to their deserts, prolonging her interest in them even after they were married and gone away from her, sending her own coach to fetch an old favourite to visit her, reproving some flighty girl, speaking her mind, and that sharply, to some exorbitant tradesman. Sometimes a diversion broke her busy monotony, as when some mountebanks from Italy came to Appleby, and gave their performance in the courtyard of the castle. Lady Anne thought them "very clever," and gave them each a pound. Again, she received presents from her neighbours, apricocks and quinces, venison and plums, and then there was the messenger to be rewarded, and the details of the reward to be entered in her account-book. Yet it appears that in the midst of all these affairs she never grew flustered or hurried, for Bishop Rainbow said of her in his funeral sermon,—and I think the words have the accent of exactitude—"She was absolute mistress of herself, her resolutions, actions, and time, and yet allowed a time for every purpose. None had access but by leave, when she called; but none were rejected. None

must stay longer than she would ; yet none departed unsatisfied. Like him at the stern, she seemed to do little or nothing, but indeed she turned and steered the whole course of her affairs."

Such occupations fill up the years with their multitudinous and often monotonous detail. Reading now, we see very little difference between the visit of Mr. John Tufton and that of Lady Alethea Compton, though to Lady Anne the difference in her grandchildren was as vital as the difference of sheep to their shepherd ; and whether it was at Appleby or Pendragon that she laid the foundation stone for a tower makes little odds to us. But to her it was supremely important, in her small, sharp, vigorous mind, that had, so humanly, its sentimental facet on the opposite side to all its severity, the facet that calculated always so nicely the number of years, months, and even days, since she had undertaken such and such an enterprise, or expedition, with her mother in the distant days of her youth. For Lady Anne by now was no longer young. " Swounding fits " begin to appear in her Day-by-Day book, though she disregarded them with the contempt we might expect from her. She grew

impatient with her folk who would have dissuaded her from the difficult journeys over mountainous roads after one or more of these swoonings had delayed her departure ; “ she knew she must die,” she replied, “ and it was the same thing to her to die in the way as in her house, in her litter as in her bed.” In this spirit she continued up to the end, for the Day-by-Day book is kept with the same scrupulous care up to the day before her death, and during the last twenty-four hours of sudden illness the only answer that she would return to the solicitous enquiries of her servants was that she thanked God, she was very well. But despite her obstinacy and reluctance to acknowledge her final defeat, she was far from very well, and at six o’clock in the afternoon on Wednesday the 22nd of March 1676, at the age of eighty-six, she died in that same room in Brougham Castle as had witnessed the birth of her father and the death of her mother,—may the coincidence have been of some consolation to her in her last conscious moments.

I am indebted to Mr. Edmund Gosse for calling my attention to the following epitaph, supposed to have been written by Thomas

Gray on visiting her tomb in 1767 :

Now clean, now hideous, mellow now, now  
gruff,  
She swept, she hiss'd, she ripened and  
grew rough  
At Brougham, Pendragon, Appleby, and  
Brough.

# A CATALOGUE

*of the Household and Family of  
the Right Honourable RICHARD  
EARL OF DORSET in the year of our  
Lord 1613; and so continued until the  
year 1624, at Knoles, in Kent.*

## *At MY LORD'S TABLE*

My Lord	My Lady
My Lady Margaret	My Lady Isabella
Mr. Sackville	Mr. Frost
John Musgrave	Thomas Garret

## *At THE PARLOUR TABLE*

Mrs. Field	Mrs. Willoughby
Mrs. Grimsditch	Mrs. Stewkly
Mrs. Fletcher	Mrs. Wood
Mr. Dupper, <i>Chaplain</i>	
Mr. Matthew Caldicott, <i>my Lord's favourite</i>	
Mr. Edward Legge, <i>Steward</i>	
Mr. Peter Basket, <i>Gentleman of the Horse</i>	
Mr. Marsh, <i>Attendant on my Lady</i>	
Mr. Wooldridge	
Mr. Cheyney	
Mr. Duck, <i>Page</i>	
Mr. Josiah Cooper, <i>a Frenchman, Page</i>	
Mr. John Belgrave, <i>Page</i>	

Mr. Billingsley

Mr. Graver, *Gentleman Usher*

Mr. Marshall, *Auditor*

Mr. Edwards, *Secretary*

Mr. Drake, *Attendant*

*At THE CLERKS' TABLE IN THE HALL*

Edward Fulks and John Edwards, *Clerks of the Kitchen*

Edward Care, *Master Cook*

William Smith, *Yeoman of the Buttery*

Henry Keble, *Yeoman of the Pantry*

John Mitchell, *Pastryman*

Thomas Vinson, *Cook*

John Elnor, *Cook*

Ralph Hussie, *Cook*

John Avery, *Usher of the Hall*

Robert Elnor, *Slaughterman*

Benjamin Staples, *Groom of the Great Chamber*

Thomas Petley, *Brewer*

William Turner, *Baker*

Francis Steeling, *Gardener*

Richard Wicking, *Gardener*

Thomas Clements, *Under Brewer*

Samuel Vans, *Caterer*

Edward Small, *Groom of the Wardrobe*

Samuel Southern, *Under Baker*

Lowry, *a French boy*



## THE NURSERY

Nurse Carpenter	Widow Ben
Jane Sisley	Dorothy Pickenden

*At THE LONG TABLE IN THE HALL*

Robert Care, *Attendant on my Lord*  
 Mr. Gray, *Attendant likewise*  
 Mr. Roger Cook, *Attendant on my Lady Margaret*  
 Mr. Adam Bradford, *Barber*  
 Mr. John Guy, *Groom of my Lord's Bed-chamber*  
 Walter Comestone, *Attendant on my Lady*  
 Edward Lane, *Scrivener*  
 Mr. Thomas Poor, *Yeoman of the Wardrobe*  
 Mr. Thomas Leonard, *Master Huntsman*  
 Mr. Woodgate, *Yeoman of the Great Chamber*  
 John Hall, *Falconer*  
 James Flennel, *Yeoman of the Granary*  
 Rawlinson, *Armourer*  
 Moses Shonk, *Coachman*  
 Anthony Ashly, *Groom of the Great Horse*  
 Griffin Edwards, *Groom of my Lady's Horse*  
 Francis Turner, *Groom of the Great Horse*  
 William Grynes, „ „ „ „  
 Acton Curvett, *Chief Footman*

James Loveall, *Footman*  
 Sampson Ashley, „  
 William Petley, „  
 Nicholas James, „  
 Paschal Beard, „  
 Elias Thomas, „  
 Henry Spencer, *Farrier*  
 Edward Goodsall  
 John Sant, *the Steward's Man*  
 Ralph Wise, *Groom of the Stables*  
 Thomas Petley, *Under Farrier*  
 John Stephens, *the Chaplain's Man*  
 John Haite, *Groom for the Stranger's Horse*  
 Thomas Giles, *Groom of the Stables*  
 Richard Thomas, *Groom of the Hall*  
 Christopher Wood, *Groom of the Pantry*  
 George Owen, *Huntsman*  
 George Vigeon, „  
 Thomas Grittan, *Groom of the Buttery*  
 Solomon, *the Bird-Catcher*  
 Richard Thornton, *the Coachman's Man*  
 Richard Pickenden, *Postillion*  
 William Roberts, *Groom*  
 The Armourer's Man  
 Ralph Wise, *his Servant*  
 John Swift, *the Porter's Man*  
 John Atkins }  
 Clement Doory } *Men to carry wood*

## THE LAUNDRY-MAIDS' TABLE

Mrs. Judith Simpton  
Mrs. Grace Simpton  
Penelope Tutty, *the Lady Margaret's Maid*  
Anne Mills, *Dairy-Maid*  
Prudence Butcher  
Anne Howse  
Faith Husband  
Elinor Thompson  
Goodwife Burton  
Grace Robinson, a *Blackamoor*  
Goodwife Small  
William Lewis, *Porter*

## KITCHEN AND SCULLERY

Diggory Dyer  
Marfidy Snipt  
John Watson  
Thomas Harman  
Thomas Johnson  
John Morockoe, a *Blackamoor*



# EDITOR'S NOTE

THE publication of the Diary was undertaken at the suggestion of the late Maurice Hewlett, who in November 1922 wrote to Messrs. Heinemann as follows :

“ What I really want of Miss Sackville West—and what I shall ask you to get out of her—is an edition of Lady Anne Clifford's Diary. That certainly ought to be published. She doesn't say how long it is, but the note which would be necessary would make a book of it. I hope you will think of this. We are awfully behind the French in seventeenth-century memoirs. You will be doing a service to your country.”

and to me in the course of a subsequent correspondence he wrote, “ Lady Anne's journal certainly ought to be published, with good, accurate, and lively notes.”

The idea seemed to be a good one, and the present edition has been prepared. The question of footnotes was difficult to decide, for in common, I hope, with most readers, I dislike their constant small interruption, whether good, accurate, lively, or otherwise ; but at the same time it was necessary to

identify the various persons mentioned, and even more necessary to include the numerous notes which are written into the margin of the actual manuscript. They must, therefore, stand, irritating but inevitable.

The notes written into the MS. of the Diary are of two kinds: some are interpolations of Lady Anne's, and so must be considered as an intrinsic part of the Diary, others (which in the present edition are printed in italics) are additions in a different and to me unknown hand.

I should explain that the manuscript at Knole, which is the one here reproduced, is not the original document, but an eighteenth-century transcript, written in a clear, sloping, clerkly hand. The original was probably destroyed, for its whereabouts have never been discovered, in spite of all efforts to unearth it. Whether it extended over a greater number of years we are consequently unable to judge. The first part of it, dealing with the year 1603, is written in the form of reminiscence, and not as a day-by-day diary; it then jumps without transition or explanation to the year 1616, and continues through 1617 to 1619, the year 1618 being entirely omitted. This omission leads me to presume that the

original was longer than the transcript which is now all that remains to us.

The sources of information as to Lady Anne's life are many. She was an indefatigable recorder, and in her old age caused the lives of her father and mother to be written, together with a history of her ancestors ; this document, together with "a true memorial of the life of me," carrying us down to 1675, composes the volume which she herself refers to as her Great Books. Since not even a memory so prodigious as hers could have carried unaided the mass of facts and dates, it is probable, and indeed certain, that these Great Books were compiled by various secretaries at her dictation from other diaries or note-books, now no longer in existence. We possess, however, the day-by-day diary of the last few months of her life (January 1st, 1676—March 21st, 1676), and in addition to this we have a few odd pages from one of her last account books ; but it is only too certain that many papers of personal and historical interest relating to Lady Anne were destroyed by a careless hand at Appleby as recently as fifty years ago.

Although it is not likely that many readers will wish to go to the original records, those

whose interest is sufficiently stimulated by the Diary may be referred to Dr. Williamson's *Lady Anne Clifford*, to the same author's *George third Earl of Cumberland*, and even to my own volume on *Knole and the Sackvilles*, which contains a chapter on Lady Anne and her first husband. In conclusion I would wish to thank Dr. Williamson for the extreme courtesy which he has shown me in all matters connected with this my present enquiry.

June 1923.



The Diary of the  
LADY ANNE CLIFFORD



# The DIARY

*of the Lady*

## ANNE CLIFFORD

I N Christmas I used to go much to the Court and sometimes did I lie at my Aunt *Warwick's*\* chamber on a pallet, to whom I was much bound for her continual love and care of me, in so much as if Queen *Elizabeth* had lived she intended to prefer me to be of the Privy Chamber for at that time there was as much hope and expectation of me as of any other young lady whatsoever. A little after the Queen removed to *Richmond* she began to grow sickly, my Lady used to go thither and carry me with her in the coach and using to wait in the Coffee Chamber and many times came home very late. About the 21st or 22nd of March my Aunt of *Warwick* sent my Mother word about 9 o'clock at night (she living then at *Clerkenwell*,) that she should remove to *Austin Friars* her house, for fear of some commotions, the God in his Mercy did deliver us from it.

\* Her mother's sister, married to Ambrose Dudley Earl of *Warwick*.

The 20th Mr *Flocknall*, my Aunt *Warwick's* man, brought us word from his Lady, that the Queen died about 2/3 o'clock in the morning.

This message was delivered to my Mother and me in the same chamber where afterwards I was married.\*

About 10 o'clock King *James* was proclaimed in *Cheapside* by all the Council, with great joy and triumph.† I went to see and hear. This peaceable coming-in of the King was unexpected of all sorts of people. Within two or three days we returned to *Clerkenwell* again. A little after this Queen *Elizabeth's* corpse came by night in a barge from *Richmond* to *Whitehall*, my Mother and a great company of ladies attending it, where it continued a great while standing in the Drawing Chamber, where it was watched all night by several lords and ladies, my Mother sitting up with it two or three nights, but my Lady would not give me leave to watch,

\* I was at Queen *Elizabeth's* death thirteen years and two months old, and Mr *Richard Sackville* was fourteen years old, he being then at *Dorset House* with his grandfather and that great family.

At the death of this worthy Queen my mother and I lay at *Austin Friars* in the same

chamber where afterwards I was married.

† The first time that King sent to the Lords in *England*, he gave command that the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Lord *Mountjoy* should be added to the Council.

by reason I was held too young. At this time we used to go very much to *Whitehall*, and walked much in the garden which was frequented by lords and ladies, my Mother being all full of hopes, every man expecting mountains and finding molehills, excepting Sir *R. Cecil* and the house of the *Howards*, who hated my Mother and did not much love my Aunt *Warwick*. About this time my Lord *Southampton* was enlarged of his imprisonment out of the *Tower*. When the corpse of Queen *Elizabeth* had continued at *Whitehall* as the Council had thought fit, it was carried with great solemnity to *Westminster*,\* the lords and ladies going on foot to attend it, my Mother and my Aunt of *Warwick* being mourners, but I was not allowed to be one, because I was not high enough, which did much trouble me then, but yet I stood in the church at *Westminster* to see the solemnities performed. A little after this my Lady and a great deal of other company as Mrs *Eliz. Bridges*, Lady *Newtin*, and her daughter Lady *Finch*, went down with my Aunt *Warwick* to *North Hall*, and from thence we all went to *Tibbalds* to see the King who used my Mother and aunt very graciously, but we all saw a great change

\* Queen *Elizabeth's* funeral was on Thursday, April the 8th.

between the fashion of the Court as it is now and of that in the Queen's time, for we were all lousy by sitting in the chamber of Sir *Thomas Erskine*. As the King came out of *Scotland*, when he lay at *York*, there was a strife between my Father and Lord *Burleigh*\* (who was the President,) who should carry the sword, but it was adjudged on my Father's side because it was an office by inheritance and so it lineally descended to me.

From *Tibbalds* the King went to *Charterhouse*, where Lord *T. Howard* was created Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonshire*, and restored Lords *Southampton* and *Essex*, who stood attainted, likewise he created many barons, among which my uncle *Russell* was made Lord *Russell* of *Thorney*, [sic] and for knights they were innumerable. All this spring I had my health very well. My Father used to come to us sometimes at *Clerkenwell* but not often, for he had at this time as it were wholly left my Mother, yet the house was kept still at his charge.

About this time my Aunt of *Bath*† and her lord came to *London* and brought with them

\* A dispute between *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, and the Lord *Burleigh*.

† Her mother's sister.

my Lord *Fitzwarren* and my cousin *Frances Bouchier*, whom I met at *Bagshot*, where I lay all night with my cousin, and M<sup>rs</sup> *Mary Carey*, which was the first beginning of the greatness between us. About five miles from *London* there met them my Mother, my Lord of *Bedford*\* and his Lady, my uncle *Russell*, and much other company, so that we were in number about three hundred, which did all accompany them to *Bath House* where they continued most of that summer, whither I went daily and visited them, and grew daily more inward with my cousin *Frances* and M<sup>rs</sup> *Carey*. About this time my Aunt *Warwick* went to meet the Queen, having M<sup>rs</sup> *Bridges* with her and my Aunt *Vavisor*. My Mother and I should have gone with them, but that her horse (which she borrowed of M<sup>rs</sup> *Elmes*,) and old Mr *Hickley* were not ready, yet I went the same night and overtook my aunt at *Tittinhanger*, Lady *Blount's* house, where my Mother came to me the next day about noon, my aunt being gone before. Then my Mother and I went on our journey to overtake her, and killed three horses that day with extremity of heat, and

\* *Edward, 3rd Earl, and his Lady, Lucy, daughter of Lord Harrington.*

came to *Wrest*, my Lord of *Kent's*, where we found the doors shut and none in the house but one servant, who only had the keys of the hall, so that we were forced to lie in the hall all night, till towards morning, at which time came a man and let us into the higher rooms where we slept three or four hours. This morning we hasted away betimes and came that night to *Rockingham Castle*, where we overtook my Aunt *Warwick*, and her company, where we continued a day or two with old Sir *Edward Watson* and his Lady, then we went to Lady *Needham's* who once served my Aunt of *Warwick*, and from thence to a sister of hers whose name I have forgotten.

Thither came my Lady of *Bedford* who was so great a woman with the Queen as everybody much respected her, she having attended the Queen out of *Scotland*. The next day we went to Mr *Griffin* of *Dingley's* which was the first time I ever saw the Queen and Prince *Henry*, when she kissed us all and used us kindly ; thither came also my Lady of *Suffolk*, my young Lady *Derby* and Lady *Walsingham*, which three ladies were the great favourites of Sir *Robert Cecil*. That night we went along with the Queen's train,



there being an infinite number of coaches and, as I take it, my aunt and my Mother and I lay at Sir *Richard Knightley's* where Lady *Elizabeth Knightley* made exceeding much of us.

The same night my Mother and I and my Aunt *Vavisor* rid on horseback through country, and went to a gentleman's house where the Lady *Elizabeth*\* her Grace lay, which was the first I ever saw her, my Lady *Kildare* and the Lady *Harrington* being her governesses. The same night we returned to Sir *Richard Knightley's*. The next day we went along with the Queen to *Althorpe*,† Lord *Spencer's* house, where my Mother saw my cousin *Henry Clifford*,‡ my uncle's son, which was the first time we ever saw him. From thence the 27th being Monday, the Queen went to *Hatton* where the King met her, where there were an infinite number of

\* *Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I and Anne of Denmark, born 1596. [ED.]*

† *Here Ben Jonson's Masque of the Fairies was performed. [ED.]*

The Queen and Prince came to *Althorpe* the 25th of June, on Saturday; my mother, Aunt *Warwick* and I not till the next day, which

Sunday was kept with great solemnity, there being an infinite number of lords and ladies. There we saw the Queen's favour to Lady *Hatton* and Lady *Cecil*, for she shewed no favour to the elderly ladies, but to Lady *Rich* and such like company.

‡ *Afterwards 5th and last Earl of Cumberland.*

lords and ladies and other people that the county could scarce lodge them. From there the Court removed and were banqueted with great royalty by my father at *Grafton* where the King and Queen were entertained with speeches and delicate presents at which time my Lord and the *Alexanders* did run a course at the field where he hurt *Henry Alexander* very dangerously. Where the Court lay this night I am uncertain. At this time of the King's being at *Grafton*, my Mother was there, but not held as mistress of the house, by reason of the difference between my Lord and her, which was grown to a great height. The night after, my Aunt of *Warwick*, my Mother and I (as I take it,) lay at Dr *Chal-loner's*, where my Aunt of *Bath* and my Uncle *Russell* met us, which house my grandfather of *Bedford* used to lie much at, being at *Amersham*.

The next day, the Queen went to a gentleman's house, whose name I cannot remember, where there met her many great ladies to kiss her hand, as the Marchioness of *Winchester*, my Lady of *Northumberland*, my Lady *Southampton*, etc. From thence the Court removed to *Windsor*, where the feast of *St. George* was solemnised though it should have

been done before. There I stood with my Lady *Elizabeth's* Grace in the shrine of the great hall at *Windsor*, to see the King and all the knights set at dinner. Thither came the Archduke's Ambassador, who was received by the King and Queen in the great hall, where there was such an infinite company of lords and ladies and so great a Court, as I think I shall never see the like again. From *Windsor* the Court removed to *Hampton Court*, where my Mother and I lay at *Hampton Court*, in one of the round towers, round about which were tents where they died two or three in a day of the plague. There I fell extremely sick of a fever, so as my Mother was in some doubt it might turn to the plague, but within two or three days I grew reasonably well, and was sent away to my cousin *Stiddolph's*, for Mr<sup>rs</sup> *Taylor* was newly put away from me, her husband dying of the plague shortly after. A little time before this my Mother and I, my Aunt of *Bath*, and my cousin *Frances*, went to *North Hall*, my Mother being extreme angry with me for riding before with Mr *Mene*, [sic] where my Mother in her anger commanded that I should lie in a chamber alone, which I could not endure, but my cousin *Frances* got the

key of my chamber and lay with me which was the first time I loved her so well. The next day Mr *Menerill* as he went abroad fell down suddenly and died, so as most thought it was the plague which was then very rife ; it put us all in great fear and amazement, for my aunt had then a suit to follow in court and my Mother to attend the King about the business between my Father and her. My Aunt of *Warwick* sent us medicines from a house near *Hampton Court*, where she then lay with Sir *Moyle Finch* and his Lady. Now was the Master of *Orkney* and the Lord *Tilliburne* much in love with Mrs *Carey* and came there to see us with *George Murray* in their company, who was of the King's bed-chamber.

Within nine or ten days we were allowed to come to the Court again, which was before I went to my cousin *Stiddolph's*. Upon the 25th of July the King and Queen were crowned at *Westminster*, my Father and Mother both attended in their robes, my Aunt of *Bath* and my Uncle *Russell*, which solemn sight my Mother would not let me see because the plague was hot in *London*, therefore I continued at *Norbury*, where my cousin did so feed me with breakfasts and

pear pies and such things, as shortly after I fell into sickness.

After the coronation\* the Court returned to *Hampton Court*, where my Mother fetched me from *Norbury*, and so we lay at a little house near *Hampton Court* about a fortnight, and my Aunt of *Bath* lay in *Huggin's Lodgings*, where my cousin *Frances* and I and *Mary Carey* did use to walk much about the house and garden when the King and Queen were gone. About this time my cousin *Ann Vavisor* was married to Sir *Richard Warburton*. From *Hampton Court* my Mother went to *Lancilwell*, Sir *Francis Palmer's* house, with my Aunt of *Bath*, myself, and all our company, where we continued as long as the Court lay at *Basingstoke*, and I went often to the Queen and my Lady *Arabella [Stuart]*. Now was my Lady *Rich* grown great with the Queen, in so much as my Lady of *Bedford* was something out with her, and when she came to *Hampton Court* was entertained, but even indifferently, and yet continued to be of the bedchamber. One day the Queen went from *Basingstoke* and dined at Sir *Henry Wallop's*, where my Lady, my

\* My Coz. *Frances Bouchier* stood to see the Coronation though she had not robes and went not among the company.

aunt and I had lain two or three nights before and did help to entertain her. As we rode from my Lady *Wallop's* to *Lancilwell*, riding late by reason of our stay at *Basingstoke*, we saw a strange comet in the night like a canopy in the air, which was a thing observed all over England. From *Lancilwell* we went to Mr *Duton's*, where we continued about a week, and had great entertainment, and at this time kept a fast by reason of the plague, which was generally observed all over England. From Mr *Duton's* we went to *Barton*, one Mr *Dormer's*, where Mrs *Humphrie* her mother and she entertained us with great kindness; from thence we went often to the Court at *Woodstock*, where my Aunt of *Bath* followed her suit to the King, and my Mother wrote letters to the King, and her means were by my Lord of —, [blank in MS.] and to the Queen by my Lady of *Bedford*. My Father at this time followed his suit to the King about the *Buder* [*Border*?] lands, so that sometimes my Mother and he did meet, when their countenance did show the dislike they had one of the other, yet he would speak to me in a slight fashion and give me his blessing. While we lay there we rid through *Oxford* once or twice, but whither

we went I remember not. There we saw the Spanish Ambassador, who was then new come to *England* about the peace.\* While we lay at *Barlow* [*Barton* ?], I kept so ill a diet with M<sup>rs</sup> *Mary Carey* and M<sup>rs</sup> *S. Cuison* on eating fruit so that I shortly fell into the same sickness. From this place my Aunt of *Bath*, having little hope of her suit, took her leave of my Mother and returned into the west country. While they lay at *Barton*, my Mother and my aunt paid for the charge of the house equally.

Some week or fortnight after my aunt was gone (which was about Michaelmas,) my Lady went from *Barton* to *Green's Norton* and lay one night at my cousin *Thomas Sellinger's*, where we saw old M<sup>r</sup> *Hicklin*, where he and his daughter proffered *William Poud* to serve my Lady to this place, where we came about ten o'clock at night, and I

\* Not long before Michaelmas, myself, my Coz. *Frances Bouchier*, M<sup>rs</sup> *Goodwin* and M<sup>rs</sup> *Howbridge* waiting on us, [went ?] in my mother's coach from *Barton* to *Cookham* where my Uncle *Russell* (a) his wife and son then lay. The next day we went to *Nonsuch* where Prince *Henry* and her Grace lay, where I

stayed about a week, and left my cousin there, who was proposed to continue with her Grace, but I came back by *Cookham*, and came to *Barton* before my Aunt of *Bath* went into the country.

(a) Lord and Lady *Russell* of *Thornhaugh* and their son *Francis*, afterwards 4th Earl of *Bedford*.

was so weary as I could not tell whether I should eat or sleep first. The next day we went to *North Hall* where we found my Aunt of *Warwick* something ill and melancholy. She herself had not been there passing a month, but lay at Sir *Moyle Finch's* in *Kent* by reason of the great plague which was then much about *North Hall*. Not long after Michaelmas my Uncle and Aunt *Russell*, their son, my Lady of *Bedford*, my Mother and I gave all allowance to Mr *Chambers*, my aunt's steward, in which sort the house was kept. During our being there I used to wear my hair coloured velvet every day and learned to sing and play on the bass viol of *Jack Jenkins*, my aunt's boy. Before Xmas my cousin *Frances* was sent for from *Nonsuch* to *North Hall* by reason that her Grace was to go from thence to be brought up with the Lady *Harrington* in the country. All this time we were merry at *North Hall*. My cousin *Frances Bouchier* and my cousin *Frances Russell* and I did use to walk much in the garden and were great with one another. Now there was much talk of a masque which the Queen had at *Winchester* and how all the ladies about the Court had gotten such ill names that it was grown a



scandalous place, and the Queen herself was much fallen from her former greatness and reputation she had in the world.\*

### January 1616

Upon New Year's day† I kept my chamber all day, my Lady *Rich* and my Sister *Sackville* supping with me but my Lord and all the company at *Dorset House* went to see the Masque at the Court. Upon the 6th being Twelfth day I supped with my Lady of *Arundel*‡ and sat with her in the Ladyship's Box to see the Masque which was the second time it was presented before the King and Queen.

Upon the 8th went to see Lady *Raleigh* at the *Tower*.

Upon the 21st my Lord and I went to Church at *Sevenoaks* to grace the Bishop§ of *St. David's* prayers.

### February 1616

All the time I stayed in the country I was

\* *The Diary appears to pass at once from 1603 to 1616.*

† Jan. 1616. The 1st day Sir *George Villiers* was made Master of the Horse and my Lord of *Worcester* Privy Seal.

‡ Daughter of *Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury*. Her portrait, in the same frame with her Lord, in the *Cartoon Gallery*. (Now in *Great Hall*).

§ *Richard Milborne*.

sometimes merry and sometimes sad, as I had news from *London*.

Upon the 8th day of February I came to *London*, my Lord Bishop of *St. David's* riding with me in the coach and *Mary Neville*. This time I was sent for up by my Lord about the composition with my Uncle of *Cumberland*.\* Upon Monday the 12th my Lord Rous† was married to Mrs *Ann Lake* the secretary's daughter.

Upon the 14th my Lord supped at the *Globe*; upon the 15th my Lord and I went to see the young Lady *Arundel*, and in the afternoon my Lady *Willoughby* came to see me. My Lady *Gray* brought my Lady *Carr* to play at Glecko with me when I lost £15 to them, they two and my Lady *Grantham* and Sir *Geo. Manners* supping with me.

Upon the 16th my Lady *Grantham* and Mrs *Newton* came to see me—the next day (she told me) the Archbishop of *Canterbury*‡ would come to me and she persuaded me very earnestly to agree to this business which I took as a great argument of her love. My

\* *Francis Clifford* 4th Earl of *Cumberland*.

† Only son of *William Cecil* 2nd Earl of *Exeter*, died without issue 1618.

‡ *George Abbot*.

Coz. *Russell*\* came to me the same day and chid me and told me of all my faults and errors in this business ; he made me weep bitterly ; then I spoke a prayer of *Owens* and went to see my Lady *Wotten* at *Whitehall* where we walked 5 or 6 turns but spoke nothing of this business though her heart and mine were full of it—from hence I went to the Abbey at *Westminster* where I saw the Queen of *Scots*, her tomb and all the other tombs, and came home by water where I took an extreme cold.

Upon the 17th my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, my Lord *William Howard*,† my Lord *Rous*, my Coz. *Russell*, my Brother *Sackville*‡ and a great company of men of [erased in MS.] were all in the Gallery at *Dorset House* where the Archbishop took me aside and talked with me privately one hour and half and persuaded me both by Divine and human means to set my hand to their arguments. But my answer to his Lordship was that I would do nothing till my Lady and I had conferred together. Much persuasion was used by him and all

\* Query : Francis, afterwards 4th Earl of Bedford ?

† Her husband's uncle.

‡ Afterwards 4th Earl of Dorset.

the company, sometimes terrifying me and sometimes flattering me, but at length it was concluded that I should have leave to go to my Mother and send an answer by the 22nd of March next, whether I will agree to the business or not, and to this prayer my Lord of *Canterbury* and the rest of the Lords have set their hands.

Next day was a marvellous day to me through the mercy of GOD, for it was generally thought that I must either have sealed to the argument or else have parted with my Lord.

Upon the 19th I sent *Tobias* and *Thomas Bedding* to most of the Ladies in town of my Acquaintance to let them know of my journey into the North.

Upon the 20th came my Lord of *Russell* and my Cousin *George*. In all this time of my troubles my Coz. *Russell* was exceeding careful and kind to me.

Upon the 21st my Lord and I began our journey northward—the same day my Lord *Willoughby* came and broke his fast with my Lord. We had 2 coaches in our company with 4 horses a piece and about 26 horsemen, I having no women to attend me but

March 1616]

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*Willoughby* and *Judith*, *Thomas Glenham* going with my Lord.

Upon the 26th going from *Litchfield* to *Croxall* and about a mile from *Croxall* my Lord and I parted, he returning to *Litchfield* and I going into *Derby*. I came to my Lodgings with a heavy heart considering how many things stood between my Lord and I. I had in my company 10 persons and 13 horses.

### March 1616

Upon the 1st we went from the *Parsons House* near the Dangerous Moors being eight miles and afterwards the ways so dangerous the horses were fain to be taken out of the coach to be lifted down the hills. This day *Rivers'* horse fell from a bridge into the river. We came to *Manchester* about ten at night.

Upon the 20th in the morning my Lord *William Howard* with his son, my Coz.\* *William Howard* and Mr *John Dudley* came hither to take the answer of my Mother and myself which was a direct denial to stand to the judges' award. The same day

\* *Her husband's first cousin.*

came Sir *Timothy Whittington* hither who did all he could do to mitigate the anger between my Lord *William Howard* and my Mother, so as at last we parted all good friends and it was agreed upon my men and horses should stay and we should go up to *London* together after Easter.

Upon the 22nd my Lady and I went in a coach to *Whingfield* and rode about the Park and saw all the woods.\*

Upon the 27th my Cousin *William Howard* sent me a dapple grey nag for my own saddle.

Upon the 31st being Easter Day I received with my Mother in the Chapel at *Broome* [*sic*].

### April 1616

Upon the 1st came my Coz. *Charles Howard*† and Mr *John Dudley* with letters to shew that it was my Lord's pleasure that the men and horses should come away without me and so after much falling out betwixt my Lady and them all the folks went away there being a paper drawn to shew that

\* Upon the 24th my Lady of *Somerset* was sent by water from *Blackfriars* as Prisoner to the *Tower*.

† 4th son of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, and therefore her husband's first cousin.

April 1616]

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they went away by my Lord's direction and contrary to my will.\*

At night I sent 2 messengers to my folks to entreat them to stay. For some 2 nights my Mother and I lay together and had much talk about this business.†

Upon the 2nd I went after my folks in my Lady's coach she bringing me a quarter of a mile in the way where she and I had a grievous and heavy parting. Most part of the way I rid behind Mr *Hodgson*.‡

Upon the 10th we went from *Ware* to *Tottenham* where my Lord's coach with his men and horses met me and came to *London* to the lesser *Dorset House*.

Upon the 11th I came from *London* to

\* *The paper is at Appleby and runs as follows:* "1st April 1616. A Memoranda that I, *Anne*, Countess of *Dorset*, sole daughter and heir to *George*, late Earl of *Cumberland*, doth take witness of all these gentlemen present, that I both desire and offer myself to go up to *London* with my men and horses, but they, having received a contrary commandment from my Lord, my husband, will by no means consent nor permit me to go with them. Now my desire is that all the world

may know that this stay of mine proceeds only from my husband's command, contrary to my consent or agreement, whereof I have gotten these names underwritten to testify the same." [ED.]

† April 1616. As I came I heard that Sir *John Digby*, late Ambassador in *Spain*, was made V. Chamberlain and sworn of the Privy Council.

‡ Not long after this my Coz. Sir *John Oliver* was made Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in the place of Sir *Arthur Chichester*.

*Knole* where I had but a cold welcome from my Lord. My Lady *Margaret* met me in the outermost gate and my Lord came to me in the Drawing Chamber.

Upon the 12th I told my Lord how I had left those writings which the Judges and my Lord would have me sign and seal behind with my Mother.

Upon the 13th my Lord and *Thomas Glenham* went up to *London*.

Upon the 17th came *Tom Woodgatt* from *London* but brought me no news of my going up which I daily look for.\*

Upon the 18th *Baskett* came hither and brought me a letter from my Lord to let me know this was the last time of asking me whether I would set my hand to this award of the Judges.

Upon the 19th I returned my Lord for answer that I would not stand to the award of the Judges what misery soever it cost me. This morning the Bishop of *St. David's* and my little Child were brought to speak to me.

\* Upon the 17th my Mother sickened as she came from Prayers, being taken with a cold chillness in the manner of an ague which afterwards turned to great heats and pains in her side, so as when she was opened, it was plainly seen she had an Imposthume (i.e., *an abscess*).



May 1616]

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About this time I used to rise early in the morning and go to the Standing in the Garden, and taking my prayer Book with me beseech GOD to be merciful to me in this and to help me as he always hath done.

May 1616

Upon the 1st *Rivers* came from *London* in the afternoon and brought me word that I should neither live at *Knole* or *Bolebrooke*.

Upon the 2nd came Mr *Legg*\* and told divers of the servants that my Lord would come down and see me once more which would be the last time that I should see him again.

Upon the 3rd came *Baskett*† down from *London* and brought me a letter from my Lord by which I might see it was his pleasure that the Child should go the next day to *London*, which at the first was somewhat grievous to me, but when I considered that it would both make my Lord more angry with me and be worse for the Child, I resolved to let her go, after I had sent for

\* *Mr. Edward Legg, Steward.*

† *Mr. Peter Baskett, Gentleman of the Horse.*

Mr *Legg* and talked with him about that and other matters and wept bitterly.\*

Upon the 4th being Saturday between 10 and 11 the Child went into the litter to go to *London*, M<sup>rs</sup> *Bathurst* and her two maids with M<sup>r</sup> *Legge* and a good Company of the Servants going with her. In the afternoon came a man called *Hilton*, born in *Craven*, from my Lady *Willoughby* to see me which I took as a great argument of her love being in the midst of all my misery.

Upon the 8th I dispatched a letter to my Mother.

Upon the 9th I received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> *Bellasis* how extreme ill my Mother had been and in the afternoon came *Humphrey Godding's* son with letters that my Mother was exceeding ill and as they thought in sore danger of death—so as I sent *Rivers* presently to *London* with letters to be sent to her and certain cordials and conserves.

At night was brought to me a letter from my Lord to let me know his determination was, the Child should go live at *Horseley*, and

\* My Lady *Margaret* lay in the Great *Dorset House*. For now my Lord and his whole company was removed from the Lesser *Dorset House*

where I lay when I was first married.

About this time died my Lord of *Shrewsbury* at his House in *Broad Street*.

not come hither any more so as this was a very grievous and sorrowful day to me.

Upon the 10th *Rivers* came from *London* and brought me word from Lord *William* that she was not in such danger as I fear'd, the same day came the Steward from *London*, whom I expected would have given warning to many of the servants to go away because the audits was newly come up.\*

Upon the 11th being Sunday before Mr *Legge* went away I talked with him an hour or two about all the business and matters between me and my Lord, so as I gave him better satisfaction and made him conceive a better opinion of me than ever he did.

A little before dinner came *Matthew*† down from *London*, my Lord sending me by him the wedding ring that my Lord Treasurer and my old Lady were married withall and a message that my Lord would be here the next week, and that the Child would not as yet go down to *Horsley* and I

\* Upon the 10th early in the morning I wrote a very earnest Letter to beseech him that I might not go to the Little House that was appointed for me, but that I might go to *Horsley* and sojourn with my Child, and

to the same effect I wrote to my Sister *Beauchamp*. (*Anne*, daughter of *Robert Earl of Dorset*, married to Lord *Beauchamp*, great grandson of the Protector Duke of *Somerset*).

† Mr. *Matthew Caldicott*, my Lord's favorite.

sent my Lord the wedding ring that my Lord and I was married with ; the same day came M<sup>r</sup> *Marsh*\* from *London* and persuaded me much to consent to this argument.

The 12th at night *Grosvenor*† came hither and told me how my Lord had won £200 at the Cocking Match and that my Lord of *Essex* and Lord *Willoughby* who was on my Lord's side won a great deal and how there was some unkind words between my Lord and his side and Sir *William Herbert* and his side. This day my Lady *Grantham* sent me a letter about these businesses between my Uncle *Cumberland* and me and returned me an answer.

All this time my Lord was in *London* where he had all and infinite great resort coming to him. He went much abroad to Cocking, to Bowling Alleys, to Plays and Horse Races, and commended by all the world. I stayed in the country having many times a sorrowful and heavy heart, and being condemned by most folks because I would not consent to the agreements, so as I may truly say, I am like an owl in the desert.

Upon the 13th being Monday, my Lady's

\* *Mr. Marsh, attendant on my Lady.*

† *Mr. Grosvenor, Gentleman Usher.*

footman *Thomas Petty* brought me letters out of *Westmoreland*, by which I perceived how very sick and full of grievous pains my dear Mother was, so as she was not able to write herself to me and most of her people about her feared she would hardly recover this sickness, at night I went out and pray'd to GOD my only helper that she might not die in this pitiful case. The 14th *Richard Jones* came from *London* to me and brought a letter with him from *Matthew* the effect whereof was to persuade me to yield to my Lord's desire in this business at this time, or else I was undone for ever.

Upon the 15th my Lord came down from *London* and my Coz. *Cecily Neville*,\* my Lord lying in Leslie Chamber and I in my own. Upon the 17th my Lord and I after supper had some talk about these businesses, *Matthew* being in the room where we all fell out and so parted for that night. Upon the 18th being Saturday in the morning my Lord and I having much talk about these businesses, we agreed that Mr *Marsh* should go presently down to my Mother and that by him I should write a letter to persuade

\* Daughter to Lady *Abergavenny*, who was sister to Robert Earl of *Dorset*.

her to give over her jointure presently to my Lord and that he would give her yearly as much as it was worth.

This day my Lord went from *Knole* to *London*.\*

Upon the 20th being Monday I dispatch'd Mr *Marsh* with letters to my Mother about the business aforesaid. I sent them unsealed because my Lord might see them.

My Brother *Compton*† and his wife kept the house at *West Horsley* and my Brother *Beauchamp* and my sister his wife sojourned with them so as the Child was with both her

\* N.B.—My Lord was at *London* when my mother died but he went to *Lewes* before he heard of her death.

Upon the 20th went my Child to *W. Horsley* with *Mary Neville* and Mr<sup>s</sup> *Bathurst* from *London*. *Mary Hicken* was with her, for still she lain in bed with Lady *Margaret*.

Upon the 24th being Friday between the hours of 6 and 9 at night died my dear Mother at *Broome* in the same chamber where my Father was born, 13 years and 2 months after the death of Queen *Elizabeth* and 10 years and 7 months after the death of my Father, I being 26 years old and 5 months and

the Child 2 years old wanting a month.

At this great meeting at *Lewes* my Lord *Compton* (Note : afterwards 1st Earl of *Northampton*), my Lord *Mordaunt* (Note : married Lord *Compton*'s sister), *Tom Neville*, *John Herbert* and all that Crew with *Wat. Raleigh*, *Jack Laurie*, and a multitude of such company were there.

There was much Bull Baiting, Bowling, Cards and Dice, with suchlike sports to entertain the time.

† Sir *Henry Compton* of *Brambletye House* (3rd son of *Henry*, 1st Lord *Compton*) married Lady *Cecily Sackville* daughter of *Robert Earl of Dorset*.



*[From the Miniature by Nicholas Hilliard]*

George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland

By kind permission of the Duke of Buccleugh





aunts. Upon the 22nd Mr *Davy's* came down from *London* and brought me word that my Mother was very well recovered of her dangerous sickness. By him I writ a letter to my Lord that Mr *Amherst*\* and Mr *Davy* might confer together about my jointure to free it from the payment of debts and all other incumbrances. Upon the 24th my Lady *Somerset*† was arraigned and condemned at *Westminster Hall* where she confessed her fault and asked the King's mercy and was much pitied by all beholders.

Upon the 25th my Lord of *Somerset* was arraigned and condemned in the same place and stood much upon his innocency.

Upon the 27th being Monday my Lord came down to *Buckhurst*. My Lord *Vaux* and his Uncle Sir *Henry Neville* and divers others came with him but the Lords that promised to go with him stayed behind agreeing to meet him the next day at *Lewes*.

Upon the 28th my Lady *Selby*‡ came hither to see me and told me that she had

\* *Serjeant at law and Queen's serjeant, described by Thomas 1st Earl of Dorset in his will as "his very loving friend Richard Amherst, Esq., high steward of all his manors,*

*lands, and possessions within the county of Sussex."*

† *Daughter of Lord Treasurer Suffolk, and first cousin to Richard 3rd Earl of Dorset.*

‡ *Of the Moat, Ightham.*

heard some folks say that I have done well in not consenting to the composition.

Upon the 29th *Kendall* came and brought me the heavy news of my Mother's death which I held as the greatest and most lamentable cross that could have befallen me. Also he brought her will along with him wherein she appointed her body should be buried in the Parish Church of *Anwick* which was a double grief to me when I consider'd her body should be carried away and not interred at *Skipton*, so as I took that as a sign that I should be dispossessed of the inheritance of my forefathers.

The same night I sent *Hamon* away with the will to my Lord who was then at *Lewes*.

Upon the 30th the Bishop of *St. David's* came to me in the morning to comfort me in these afflictions, and in the afternoon I sent for Sir *William Selby* to speak to him about the conveyance of my dear Mother's body into *Northumberland* and about the building of a little Chapel.\*

Upon the 31st came Mr *Amherst* from my Lord and brought me word that my Lord

\* On the 30th at night or the 31st my Lord was told the news of my Mother's death, he being then at *Lewes* with all this company.

would be here on Saturday. The same day Mr *James* brought me a letter from Mr *Woolrich* wherein it seemed it was my Mother's pleasure her body should be conveyed to what place I appointed which was some contentment to my aggrieved soul.

## June 1616

Upon the 1st being Saturday my Lord left all the company at *Buckhurst* and came hither about 7 o'clock in the morning and so went to bed and slept till 12 when I made *Rivers* write my letters to Sir *Christopher Pickering*, Mr *Woolrich*, Mr *Dombvill*, and *Ralph Couniston* wherein I told him that my Lord had determined to take possession for my right and to desire that the body might be wrapp'd in lead till they heard from me. About 4 my Lord went to *London*.

Upon the 4th *Marsh* and *Rivers* came from *London* and gave me to understand how my Lord by the knowledge and consent of Sir *William Howard* and the advice of his learned Council had sent a letter down into *Westmoreland* to my Lady's servants and tenants to keep possession for him and me which was a thing I little expected but gave me much contentment for I thought my Lord

of *Cumberland* had taken possession of her jointure quietly.

Upon the 8th being Saturday *Rivers* and Mr *Burridge* were sent down into *Westmoreland* with letters from the Council for restoring the possession of *Appleby Castle* as it was at my Lady's decease.\*

At this time my Lord desired to have me pass my rights of the lands of *Westmoreland* to him and my Child, and to this end he brought my Lord *William Howard* to persuade me and then my Lord told me I should go presently to *Knole*, and so I was sent away upon half an hour's warning leaving my Coz. *Cecily Neville* and *Willoughby* behind me at *London* and so went down alone with *Kath. Buxton* about 8 o'clock at night so as it was 12 before we came to *Knole*.

Upon the 15th came the Steward to *Knole* with whom I had much talk. At this time I wrought very hard and made an end of one of my cushions of Irish stitch work.

Upon the 17th came down Dr *Leyfield*, *Ralph Couniston* and *Basket, D. L.* bringing

\* About this time came Lady *Cavendish*, Sir *R. Yately*, Mr *Watson* to see me and comfort me after the loss of my Mother and persuaded me much to consent to the Agreement.

with him the conveyance which Mr *Walter* had drawn and persuaded me to go up and set my hand to it which I refused because my Lord had sent me down so suddenly 2 days before.

Upon the 19th my Lord came down for me and Dr *Layfield* with him when my Lord persuaded me to consent to his business and assured me how kind and good a husband he would be to me.

Upon the 20th my Lord and I, Dr *Layfield* and *K. Baston* went up to *London* and the same day I passed (by fine before my Lord *Hubbard*) the inheritance of *Westmoreland* to my Lord if I had no heirs of my own body, and upon the 21st being Friday my Lord wrote his letters to my Lord *William* and gave directions to Mr *Marsh* to go with them and that the possession of *Brougham Castle* should be very carefully looked to, the same day he went to *Horseley* to see the Child at his sisters.\*

Upon Sunday the 23rd my Lord and I went to *St. Bride's Church* and heard a sermon.

\* About this time I went into the Tiltyard to see my Lord *Knoles* where I saw Lady *Somerset's* little Child.

(Note : Afterwards Countess of *Bedford*. Her Portrait in the *Leicester Gallery*) being the 1st time I ever saw it.

Upon the 24th my Lord, Lord [blank in MS.], my Coz. *Cecily Neville* went by barge to *Greenwich* and waited on the King and Queen to Chapel and dined at my Lady *Bedford's*. Where I met my Lord [sic] *Hume*, my old acquaintance.

After dinner we went up to the Gallery where the Queen used me exceeding well.

Upon the 28th came *Kendall* with letters so as my Lord determined I should go presently into the North.

Upon the 30th, Sunday, presently after dinner my Lady *Robert Rich*, my Coz. *Cecily Neville* and I went down by barge to *Greenwich* where in the Gallery there passed some unkind words between my Lady *Knolles* and me. I took my leave of the Queen and all my friends here. About this time it was agreed between my Lord and me that M<sup>rs</sup> *Bathurst* should go away from the Child and that *Willoughby* should have the charge of her till I should appoint it otherwise. He gave me his faithful promise that he would come after me into the North as soon as he could and that the Child should come out of hand so that my Lord and I were never greater friends than at this time.

## July 1616

Upon the 1st Lord *Hobart* came to *Dorset House* where I acknowledged a fine to him of a great part of my thirds in my Lord's land but my Lord gave me his faithful word and promise that in Michaelmas Term next he would make me a jointure of the full thirds of his living. About 1 o'clock I set forward on my journey. My Lord brought me down to the coach side where we had a loving and kind parting.\*

Upon the 11th *Ralph* brought me word that it could not be buried at *Appleby* so I sent *Rivers* away presently who got their consents. About 5 o'clock came my Coz. *William Howard* and 5 or 6 of his. About 8 we set forward, the body going in my Lady's own coach with 4 horses and myself following it in my own coach with two horses and most of the men and women on horseback so as there was about 40 in the company and we came to *Appleby* about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour after eleven and about 12 the body was put into the ground. About 3 o'clock in the morning

\* About this time *Acton* (Note : *Acton Curvett*, chief footman) my Lord's Footman, lost his race to my Lord *Salisbury* and my Lord lost 200 twenty shilling pieces by betting on his side.

we came home, where I shew'd my Coz. *Howard* the letter I writ to my Lord.

Upon the 17th I rid into *Whingfield Park* and there I willed the tenants that were carrying of hay at *Billain Town* that they should keep the money into their own hands till it were known who had a right to it.

Upon the 25th I signed a warrant for the killing of a stag in *Stainmore*, being the 1st I ever had signed of that kind.

Upon the 29th I sent my folks into the Park to make hay where they being interrupted by my Uncle *Cumberland's* people, 2 of my Uncle's people were hurt by Mr *Kidd*, the one in the leg, the other in the foot, whereupon complaint was made to the Judges at *Carlisle* and a warrant sent forth for the apprehending of all my folks that were in the field at that time to put in surety to appear at *Kendall* at the Assizes.

*August 1616*

Upon the 1st day came Baron *Bromley* and Judge *Nichols* to see me as they came from *Carlisle* and ended the matter about the hurting of my uncle's men, and have released my folks that were bound to appear at the Assizes.



Upon the 4th my Coz. *John Dudley*\* supped here and told that I had given very good satisfaction to the Judges and all the company that was with them.

Upon the 11th came Mr *Marsh* and brought a letter of the King's hand to it that I should not be molested in *Brougham Castle* and with all how all things went well and that my Lord would be here very shortly.†

Upon the 22nd I met my Lord at *Appleby Town's* end where he came with a great company of horses, Lord *William Howard*, he and I riding in the coach together and so we came that night to *Brougham*.

There came with him *Thomas Glenham*, *Coventry*, *Grosvenor*, *Grey Dick*, &c., &c. The same night *Prudence*,‡ *Bess*, *Penelope*§ and some of the men came hither but the stuff was not yet come so as they were fain to lie 3 or 4 in a bed.||

\* Who is he? *Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick* died without issue.

† About this time my Lady *Exeter* was brought to bed of a Daughter and my Lady *Montgomery* of a Son, being the 1st Son.

‡ *Prudence Bucher*.

§ *Penelope Tutty*, the Lady *Margaret's Maid*, belonging to

the *Laundry Maids' Table*.

|| Upon Saturday my Lord shewed me his Will whereby he had given all his hand to the Child saving £3,500 per annum to my Brother *Sackville*, £1,500 per annum which is appointed for the payment of his debts, and my jointure excepted which was a matter I little expected.

Upon the 24th in the afternoon I dressed the chamber where my Lady died and set up the green velvet bed, where the same night we went to lie there.

Upon the 26th came my Coz. *Clifford* to *Appleby* but with a far less train than my Lord.

Upon the 27th our folks being all at [blank in MS.] there passed some ill words betwixt *Matthew*, one of the Keepers, and *William Durin*, whereupon they fell to blows and *Grosvenor*, *Grey Dick*, *Thos. Todd*, *Edwards*\* drawing their swords made a great uproar in the town and 3 or 4 were hurt and the men went to ring the bell fell from a ladder and was sore hurt [*sic*].

Upon the 28th we made an end of dressing the house in the forenoon and in the afternoon I wrought stitch work and my Lord sat and read by me.

### September 1616

Upon the 11th Mr *Sandford* went to *London* by whom I sent a very earnest letter to my Lord that I might come up to *London*.†

\* *Mr. Edwards*, secretary.

† Upon the 18th died my Lady *Margaret's* old Beagle.

September 1616]

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Upon the 21st was the 1st day I put on my black silk gprogram gown. Upon the same day came *Rivers* down to *Brougham* and brought me word that I could not go to *London* this winter.

Upon the 31st I rid into *Whinfield* in the afternoon. This month I spent in working and reading. M<sup>r</sup> *Dumbell* read a great part of the History of the Netherlands.

November 1616

Upon the 1st I rose by times in the morning and went up to the Pagan Tower to my prayers and saw the sun rise.

Upon the 4th I sat in the Drawing Chamber all the day at my work.\*

Upon the 9th I sat at my work and heard *Rivers* and *Marsh* read Montaigne's Essays which book they have read almost this fortnight.

\* Upon the 4th Prince *Charles* was created Prince of *Wales* in the great Hall at *Whitehall* where he had been created Duke of *York* about 13 years before. There was banners and running at the Ring, but it was not half so great a pomp as

was at the creation of Prince *Henry*. Not long after this Lord Chancellor was created Viscount *Brakely* and my Lord *Knolls* Viscount *Wallingford*. My Lord *Cork* was displaced, and *Montague* made Lord Chief Justice in his stead.

Upon the 12th I made an end of my cushion of Irish stitch which my Coz. *C. Neville* began when she went with me to the *Bath*, it being my chief help to pass away the time at work.

Upon the 19th *William Punn* came down from *London* with letters from my Lord whereby I perceived there had passed a challenge between him and my Coz. *Clifford* which my Lord sent him by my Coz. *Cheymy*, the Lords of the Council sent for them both and the King made them friends giving my Lord marvellous good words and willed him to send for me because he meant to make an agreement himself between us.

This going up to *London* of mine at this time I little expected. By him I also heard that my Sister *Sackville* was dead.

Upon the 20th I spent most of the day in playing at Tables. All this time since my Lord went away I wore my black taffety night gown and a yellow taffety waistcoat and used to rise betimes in the morning and walk upon the leads and afterwards to hear reading.

Upon the 23rd I did string the pearls and diamonds left me by my Mother into a necklace.

Upon the 23rd I went to M<sup>r</sup> *Blentre's*

November 1616]

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house in *Cumberland* where I stayed an hour or two and heard music and saw all the house and gardens.\*

Upon the 26th *Thomas Hilton* came hither and told me of some quarrels that would be between some gentlemen that took my Lord's part and my Coz. *Clifford's* which did much trouble me.

Upon the 29th I bought of Mr *Clebom* who came to see me a clock [? cloak] and a safeguard of cloth laced with black lace to keep me warm on my journey.

*December 1616*

Upon the 4th came *Basket* with all the horses to carry me to *London*, but he left the coach at *Roses*.

Upon the 9th I set out from *Brougham Castle* towards *London*. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we came to *Roses*. All this day I rode on horseback on *Rivers'* mare, 27 miles that day.

Upon the 11th I went to *York* three of Lord *Sheffield's* daughters and Mrs *Matthews*

\* Upon the 23rd *Baker*, *Hookfield*, *Harry* the Caterer, and *Tom Fool* went from hence towards *London*.

Upon the 24th *Baskett* set out from *London* to *Brougham Castle* to fetch me up.

the Bishop's wife came to see me. This night Mr<sup>s</sup> *Matthews* lay with me. About this time died Mr<sup>r</sup> *Marshall*, my Lord's auditor and surveyor, and left me a purse of 10 angels as a remembrance of his love.\*

Upon the 18th I alighted at *Islington* where my Lord who came in my Lady *Witby Pole's* coach which he borrowed, my Lady *Effingham* the widow, my Sister *Beauchamp*, and a great many more came to meet me so that we were in all 10 or 11 coaches and so I came to *Dorset House* where the Child met me in the Gallery. The house was well dressed up against I came.

Upon the 23rd my Lady *Manners* came in the morning to dress my head. I had a new black wrought taffety gown which my Lady *St. John's* tailor made. She used often to come to me and I to her and was very kind one to another. About 5 o'clock in the evening my Lord and I and the Child went in the great coach to *Northampton House*†

\* Upon the 12th *William Punn* overtook us at *Wantbridge* having found the diamond ring at *Roos* [sic] which I was very glad of.

Upon the 15th was Mr<sup>r</sup> *John Tufton* just 8 years, being he that was afterwards

married to my 1st Child in the Church of *St. Bartholomew*.

The Child was brought down to me in the Gallery being the first time I had seen her since my Mother died.

† Now *Northumberland House*.

where my Lord Treasurer\* and all the company commended her and she went down into my Lady *Walden's* chamber where my Coz. *Clifford* saw her and kissed her but I stayed with my Lady *Suffolk*.

All this time of my being at *London* I was much sent to, and visited by many, being unexpected that ever matters should have gone so well with me and my Lord, everybody persuading me to hear and make an end. Since the King had taken the matter in hand so as now.

Upon the 27th I dined at my Lady *Elizabeth Gray's* lodgings at *Somerset House* where I met my Lady *Compton* and Lady *Fielding* and spoke to them about my coming to the King. Presently after dinner came my Lord thither and we went together to my Lady *Arundel's* where I saw all the pictures and statues in the lower rooms.

Upon the 28th I dined above in my chamber and wore my nightgown because I was not very well, which day and yesterday I forgot that it was fish day and ate flesh at both dinners. In the afternoon I play'd at Glecko with my Lady *Gray* and lost £27 and odd money.

\* *Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk.*

Upon the 31<sup>st</sup> I sent *Thomas Woodgate*\* with a sweet bag to the Queen for a New Year's gift, and a standish to M<sup>rs</sup> *Hanns*, both cost me about 16 or £17.

January 1617

Upon New Year's day presently after dinner I went to the *Savoy* to my Lady *Carey* and from thence he and I went to *Somerset House* to the Queen where I met Lady *Derby*, my Lady *Bedford*, my Lady *Montgomery*, and a great deal of company that came along with the King and the Prince. My Lady *Arundel* had much talk with me about the business and persuaded me to yield to the King in all things. From *Somerset House* we went to *Essex House* to see my Lady of *Northumberland*. From thence I went to see my Lady *Rich* and so came home. After supper I went to see my Sister *Beauchamp* and stay'd with her an hour or two for my Lord was at the play at *Whitehall* that night.†

\* *Yeoman of the Great Chamber.*

† As the King passed by, he kissed me. Afterwards the Queen came out into the Drawing Chamber where she

kissed me and used me very kindly.

This was the 1<sup>st</sup> time I ever saw the King, Queen, or Prince since they came out of the North.



Upon the 2nd I went to the *Tower* to see my Lord and my Lady *Somerset*.<sup>\*</sup> This was the first time I saw them since the arraignment.

Upon the 25th [*sic*] I went into the Court. We went up into the King's Chamber where my Lord *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*. My Lord, my Lord of *Buckingham*, and divers other Lords bringing them up to the King. Supped with my Lord and Lady *Arundel* and after supper I saw the play of the Mad Lover in the Hall.

Upon the 6th being Twelfth Day I went about 4 o'clock to the Court with my Lord. I went up with my Lady *Arundel* and ate a scrambling supper with her and my Lady *Pembroke* at my Lord *Duke's* lodgings. We stood to see the Masque in the box with my Lady *Ruthven*.

Upon the 8th we came from *London* to *Knole*. This night my Lord and I had a falling out about the land.

Upon the 9th I went up to see the things in the closet and began to have Mr *Sandy's* book read to me about the Government of the Turks, my Lord sitting the most part of the day reading in his closet.

<sup>\*</sup> *The Countess of Somerset was 1st cousin to Richard Earl of Dorset.*

Upon the 10th my Lord went up to *London* upon the sudden, we not knowing it till the afternoon.

Upon the 16th I received a letter from my Lord that I should come up to *London* the next day because I was to go before the King on Monday next.

Upon the 17th when I came up, my Lord told me I must resolve to go to the King the next day. Upon the 18th being Saturday I went presently after dinner to the Queen to the Drawing Chamber where my Lady *Derby* told the Queen how my business stood and that I was to go to the King so she promised me she would do all the good in it she could. When I had stay'd but a little while there I was sent for out, my Lord and I going through my Lord *Buckingham's* chamber who brought us into the King, being in the Drawing Chamber. He put out all that were there and my Lord and I kneeled by his chair sides when he persuaded us both to peace and to put the whole matter wholly into his hands, which my Lord consented to, but I beseech'd His Majesty to pardon me for that I would never part from *Westmoreland* while I lived upon any condition whatsoever. Sometimes he used fair means and persuasions and sometimes

foul means but I was resolved before so as nothing would move me. From the King we went to the Queen's side. I brought my Lady *St. John* to her lodgings and so we went home. At this time I was much bound to my Lord for he was far kinder to me in all these businesses than I expected and was very unwilling that the King should do me any public disgrace.\*

Upon the 19th my Lord and I went to the Court in the morning thinking the Queen would have gone to the Chapel but she did not, so my Lady *Ruthven* and I and many others stood in the Closet to hear the sermon. I dined with my Lady *Ruthven*. Presently after dinner she and I went up to the Drawing Chamber where my Lady *D.*, my Lady *Montgomery*, my Lord *Burleigh*, persuaded me to refer these businesses to the King. About 6 o'clock my Lord came for me so he and I and Lady *St. John* went home in her coach. This night the Masque was danced at the Court but I would not stay to see it because I had seen it already.

Upon the 20th I and my Lord went presently after dinner to the Court, he went

\* The Queen gave me warning not to trust my matters absolutely to the King lest he should deceive me.

up to the King's side about his business, I went to my Aunt *Bedford* in her lodging where I stay'd in Lady *Ruthven's* chamber till towards 8 o'clock about which time I was sent for up to the King into his Drawing Chamber when the door was lock'd and nobody suffered to stay here but my Lord and I, my Uncle *Cumberland*, my Coz. *Clifford*, my Lords *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Montgomery*, Sir *John Digby*. For lawyers there were my Lord Chief Justice *Montague* and *Hobart Yelverton* the King's Solicitor, Sir *Randal Crewe* that was to speak for my Lord and I. The King asked us all if we would submit to his judgment in this case. My Uncle *Cumberland*, my Coz. *Clifford*, and my Lord answered they would, but I would never agree to it without *Westmoreland* at which the King grew in a great chaff. My Lord of *Pembroke* and the King's Solicitor speaking much against me, at last when they saw there was no remedy, my Lord fearing the King would do me some public disgrace, desired Sir *John Digby* would open the door, who went out with me and persuaded me much to yield to the King. My Lord *Hay* came to me to whom I told in brief how this business stood. Presently after

my Lord came from the King when it was resolved that if I would not come to an agreement there should be an agreement made without me. We went down, Sir *Robert Douglas* and Sir *George Chaworth* bringing us to the coach, by the way my Lord and I went in at *Worcester House* to see my Lord and Lady and so came home this day. I may say I was led miraculously by GOD's Providence, and next to that I trust all my good to the worth and nobleness of my Lord's disposition for neither I nor anybody else thought I should have passed over this day so well as I have done.

Upon the 22nd the Child had her 6th fit of the ague in the morning. Mr *Smith* went up in the coach to *London* to my Lord to whom I wrote a letter to let him know in what case the Child was and to give him humble thanks for his noble usage towards me at London. The same day my Lord came down to *Knole* to see the Child.

Upon the 23rd my Lord went up betimes to London again. The same day the Child put on her red baize coats.

Upon the 25th I spent most of my time in working and in going up and down to see the

Child. About 5 or 6 o'clock the fit took her, which lasted 6 or 7 hours.

Upon the 28th at this time I wore a plain green flannel gown that *William Punn* made me, and my yellow taffety waistcoat. *Rivers* used to read to me in Montaigne's Plays and *Moll Neville* in the Fairy Queen.

Upon the 30th Mr *Amherst*\* the Preacher came hither to see me with whom I had much talk. He told me that now they began to think at *London* that I had done well in not referring this business to the King and that everybody said GOD had a hand in it.†

### February 1617

Upon the 4th should have been the Child's

\* *Jeffery Amherst, D.D., Rector of Horsemonden, brother of the Serjeant.*

† All this time of my being in the country there was much ado at *London* about my business in so much that my Lord, my Uncle *Cumberland*, my Coz. *Clifford*, with the Chief Justice of the Council of both sides on divers times with the King hearing it go so directly for me, he said there was a law in *England* to keep me from the land.

There was during this time

much cock fighting at the Court where the Lords' cocks did fight against the King's. Although this business was somewhat chargeable to my Lord yet it brought him into great grace and favour with the King so as he useth him very kindly and speaketh very often to him than of any other man. My Lord grew very great with my Lord of *Arundel*.

My Sister *Compton* and her husband were now upon terms of parting so as they left *Horseley*, she lying in *London*.

fit but she miss'd it. *Achin* came presently after dinner with a letter to *Tom* the groom, to meet my Lord at *Hampton Court* with his hunting horses. At night *Thomas Woodgate* came from *London* and brought a squirrel to the Child, and my Lord wrote me a letter by which I perceived my Lord was clean out with me and how much my enemies have wrought against me.

Upon the 6th the Child had a grudging of her ague again at night. M<sup>r</sup> *Orberton* came from *London* and told me that the Baron de *Joeniers* came out of *France* and had great entertainment both of the King and Queen and was lodged at *Salisbury House*.

Upon the 7th presently after dinner M<sup>r</sup> *Oberton* [sic] and I had a great deal of talk, he telling me how much I was condemned in the world and what strange censures most

It was agreed she should have a £100 a year and he to have the Child from her.

My Lord did nothing so often come to Lord *William* as heretofore, the friendship between them grew cold, my Lord beginning to harbour some ill opinion of him.

He told me the Earl of *Buckingham* was sworn of the Privy Council and that my

Lord *Willoughby's* brother, M<sup>r</sup> *H. Burtie*, was put into the Inquisition at *Ancona*.

About this time there was much ado between my Lord of *Hertford* and Lord *Beauchamp* about the assurance of land to M<sup>r</sup> *William Seymour*. But my Sister *Beauchamp* grew great with my Lord *Hertford* and so got the upper hand.

folks made of my courses, so I as I kneeled down to my prayers and desired GOD to send a good end to these troublesome businesses, my trust being wholly in Him that always helped me.

Upon the 12th the Child had a bitter fit of her ague again, insomuch I was fearful of her that I could hardly sleep all night, so I beseeched GOD Almighty to be merciful to me and spare her life. *Rivers* came down presently from *London* and told me that the Judges had been with the King divers times about my business, but as yet the award is not published, but it is thought that it will be much according to the award that was formerly set down by the Judges. He told me that he had been with Lord *William* who, as he thought, did not like the agreement considering how he had heretofore shewn himself in the business.

After supper the Child's nose bled which I think was the chief cause she was rid of her ague.

Upon the 13th the King made a speech in the Star Chamber about duels and combats, my Lord standing by his chair where he talked with him all the while, being in extraordinary grace and favour with the King.



Upon the 19th I sent Mr *Edward's* man to *London* with a letter to my Lord to desire him to come down hither. All this day I spent with *Marsh* who did write the chronicles of 1607, who went in afterwards to my prayers, desiring GOD to send me some end of my troubles that my enemies might not still have the upper hand of me.

Upon the 16th my Lord came hither from *London* before dinner and told me how the whole state of my business went and how things stood at the Court.

Upon the 17th about 8 o'clock in the morning my Lord returned to *London*.

At night Mr *Asken* came and brought me a letter from Lady *Grantham* and told me a great deal of news from *London*, and I signed a bill to give him 7lb at his return from *Jerusalem*.

This day I gave the Child's old clothes to *Legge* for his wife.

Upon the 21st the Child had an extreme fit of the ague and the Doctor set by her all the afternoon and gave her a salt powder to put in her beer. Upon the 22nd *Basket* went up with the great horses to my Lord because my Lord intended to ride a day's journey with the Prince. *Legge* came down and

brought me word that the King would make a composition and take a course to put me from my right to the lands, so as if I did not consider of it speedily it would be too late and how bitter the King stood against me.

My Sister *Compton* sent to borrow 77lb so I sent her 10 twenty shilling pieces.

Upon the 27th I spent my time in working and hearing M<sup>r</sup> *Rose* read the Bible and walking abroad.

My Lord writ me word that the King had referred the drawing and perfecting the business to the solicitor.

My soul was much troubled and afflicted to see how things go, but my trust is still in God, and compare things past with things present and read over the Chronicles.

### March 1617\*

Upon the 1st after Supper my Mother *Dorset*† came hither to see me and the Child.

Upon the 3rd *Petley*‡ and *Tom* went to

\* About this time the curtain in the Child's room was let up to let in the light which had been close shut up for 3 weeks or ■ month before.

† About this time the King and my Lord Chancellor

delivered the Seals of Sir *Francis Bacon* and he was lord keeper.

‡ 2nd wife of *Robert Earl of Dorset* and stepmother to *Richard*.

‡ Under *Farrier*.

*Buckhurst* with my Lord's horses and hounds to meet my Lord there, by whom I wrote a letter to my Lord to beseech him that he would take *Knole* on his way as he goes to *London*.

Upon the 5th *Couch* puppi'd in the morning. The 8th I made an end of reading *Exodus* with Mr *Ran*. After Supper I play'd at *Glecko* with the Steward and as I often do after dinner and supper.

Upon the 9th Mr *Ran* said service in the Chapel but made no sermon. In the afternoon I went abroad in the garden and said my prayers in the Standing. I was not well at night so I ate a posset and went to bed.

The 11th we perceived the Child had two great teeth come out so that in all she had now 18. I went in the afternoon and said my prayers in the Standing in the garden and spent my time in reading and working as I used to do. The time grew tedious so as I used to go to bed about 8 o'clock and did lie a-bed till 8 the next morning.

Upon the 12th I wrote to my Lord, to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Marsh*, &c.

The 13th made an end of *Leviticus* with Mr *Ran*. I sent by *Willoughby* a little jewel of opal to Lady *Frenchard's* girl.

The 14th I made an end of my Irish stitch cushion. This afternoon *Basket* came from *London* and told me that my Lord and my Uncle were agreed and the writings sealed.

The King set forward this day on his journey to Scotland, the Queen and Prince going with him to *Thibalds*.\*

Upon the 15th my Lord came down to *Buckhurst* and was so ill by the way that was fain to alight once or twice and go into a house. All the household were sent down from *London* to *Knole*. The 16th my Lord sent for *John Cook* to make broths for him and *Josiah*† to wait in his chamber, by whom I wrote a letter to entreat him that if he were not well I might come down to *Buckhurst* to him. This day I spent in walking in the Park with *Judith*,‡ carrying my Bible

\* The 14th being Friday my Uncle *Cumberland* and my Coz. *Clifford* came to *Dorset House* where my Lord and they signed and sealed the writings and made a final conclusion of my business and did what they could to cut me off from my right, but I referred my cause to God.

Upon this Friday or Saturday died my Lord Chancellor

*Egerton*, Lady *Derby*'s husband.

This day I put on my mourning gromgram gown and intended to wear it till my mourning time is out because I was found fault with for wearing such ill clothes.

† Mr. *Josiah Cooper*, a Frenchman, Page.

‡ Mrs. *Judith Simpton* of the Laundry Maids' Table.



*[From the Portrait at Knole by Mytens]*

Lady Margaret Sackville, daughter of Richard Sackville,  
3rd Earl of Dorset and Lady Anne Clifford

"The Child"



with me, thinking on my present fortunes and what troubles I have passed through.\*

The 19th *Willoughby* brought me very kind messages from my Sister *Compton*, my Sister *Beauchamp*, and the rest of the ladies I sent her to. The 20th I spent most of my time in walking and playing at cards with the Steward and *Basket*, and had such ill luck that I resolved not to play in 3 months.

After supper I wrote a letter to my Lord to entreat him that he would come and see me and the Child as soon as he could. The 21st *Ned* the footman came from *Buckhurst* and told me that my Lord was reasonable well and had missed his fit which did much comfort me.

The 22nd my Cook *Hortitius* came down from *London* by Dr *Layfield* and the Steward came from *Buckhurst* and told me my Lord had not been well, so as his going to *London* had him put off till the next week and that he had lent out his house to my Lord Keeper for 2 terms till the Lady *Derby* was gone out

\* Upon the 17th the woman made an end of the sheet of Lady *Sussex's* work that is for the pallet which was begun in April, presently after I came out of the North from my Mother.

About this time my Lord *Hay* was sworn ■ Privy Councillor.

About this time my Lord took *Adam* a new barber to wait on him in his Chamber.

of *York House*, and my Brother *Sackville* had written to my Lord to lend him the letter to bring up my Sister *Sackville* to town, who was 13 weeks gone with child. This day I began a new Irish stitch cushion, not one of those for Lady *Rich*, but finer canvas. The 24th we made rosemary cakes.

The 28th my Lord came here with *Thomas Glenham* from *Buckhurst*, he was troubled with a cough and was fain to lie in Leicester Chamber.

The 27th my Lord told me he had acknowledged no statutes and that the matter was not so fully finished but there was a place left for me to come in. My Lord found me reading with Mr *Ran* and told me it would hinder his study so as I must leave off reading the Old Testament till I can get somebody to read it with me. This day I made an end of reading Deuteronomy.

The 28th I walk'd abroad with my Lord in the Park and the garden, where he spake to me much of this business with my uncle. I wrought much within doors and strived to sit as merry a face as I could upon a discontented heart, for I might easily perceive that *Matthew* and *Lindsay* had got a great hand of my Lord and were both against me. Yet



March 1617]

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by this means they put Lord *William* clean out of all grace and trust with my Lord, which I hope may be the better hereafter for me and my Child, knowing that GOD often brings things to pass by contrary means.

Upon the 29th my Lord went to *London*, I bringing him down to his coach. I found this time that he was nothing so much discontented with this agreement as I thought he would have been, and that he was more pleased and contented with the passages in *London* than I imagined he would have been.

The 30th I spent in walking and sitting in the Park having my mind more contented than it was before my Lord came from *Buckhurst*.

*April 1617\**

The 2nd my Lord came down from *London* with *Tom Glenham* with him, my Lord told me how the King was gone with so few company as he had but one Lord went with him through *Northamptonshire*.

The 4th my Lord told me he had as yet passed no finished recoveries of my land, but

\* About this time the Marquis *Damse* was slain in *France*, which bred great alterations there.

About this time Lady *Robert Rich* was brought to bed of a 3rd son called *Henry* which was her fifth child.

that my Uncle *Cumberland* had acknowledged statutes for the payment of the money, and that all the writings were left with my Lord Keeper and Lord *Hobart* till 21st next term, at which time they were fully to be concluded on. This was strange news to me, for I thought all matters had been finish'd.

This day we began to leave the little room and dine and sup in the great Chamber.

The 5th my Lord went up to my closet and said how little money I had left contrary to all they had told him. Sometimes I had fair words from him and sometimes foul, but I took all patiently, and did strive to give him as much content and assurance of my love as I could possibly, yet I told him that I would never part with *Westmoreland* upon any condition whatever. Upon the 6th after supper because my Lord was sullen and not willing to go into the nursery I made *Mary* bring the Child to him into my chamber, which was the 1st time she stirred abroad since she was sick.

Upon the 7th my Lord lay in my chamber. Upon the 8th I set by my Lord and my Brother *Sackville* in the Drawing Chamber and heard much talk about my businesses and did perceive that he was entered into a

business between my Lady of *Exeter* and my Lord *Roos* of which he will not easily quit himself.\*

Upon the 11th my Lord was very ill this day and could not sleep so that I lay on a pallet. The 12th M<sup>rs</sup> *Watson* came here, with whom I had much talk of my Lord's being made a Knight of the Garter. This night I went into *Judith's* chamber where I mean to continue till my Lord is better.

The 13th my Lord sat where the gentlemen used to sit. He dined abroad in the great Chamber and supped privately with me in the Drawing Chamber and had much discourse of the manners of the folks at court.

The 14th I was so ill with lying in *Judith's* chamber that I had a plain fit of a fever.

The 15th I was so sick and my face so swelled that my Lord and *Tom Glenham* were fain to keep the table in the Drawing Chamber and I sat within. *Marsh* came in the afternoon to whom I gave directions to go to M<sup>r</sup> *Davis* and M<sup>r</sup> *Walter* about the

\* Capt. *Maimdaring* and these folk told me for certain that the march with *Spain* to our Prince would go forward. The King of *Spain*

was grown so gracious to English folk that he had written a letter in behalf of Lord *Willoughby's* brother to get him out of the Inquisition.

drawing of letters to the tenants in *Westmoreland* because I intend sending him thither. This night I left *Judith's* chamber and came to lie in the chamber where I lay when my Lord was in *France*, in the green cloth of gold bed where the Child was born.

The 16th my Lord and I had much talk about these businesses, he urging me still to go to London to sign and seal but I told him that my promise so far passed to my brother and to all the world that I would never do it, whatever became of me and mine.

Upon ye 17th in the morning my Lord told me he was resolved never to move me more in these businesses, because he saw how fully I was bent.

The 18th being Good Friday I spent most of the day in hearing *Kate Buchin* read the Bible and a Book of the preparation to the Sacrament.

The 19th I signed 33 letters with my own hand which I sent by him to the tenants in *Westmoreland*. The same night my Lord and I had much talk of and persuaded me to these businesses, but I would not, and yet I told him I was in perfect charity with all the world. All this Lent I eat flesh and observed no day but Good Friday.

The 20th being Easter Day my Lord and I and *Tom Glenham* and most of the folk received the Communion by Mr *Ran*, yet in the afternoon my Lord and I had had a great falling out, *Mathew* continuing still to do me all the ill office he could with my Lord. All this time I wore my white satin gown and my white waistcoat.

The 22nd he came to dine abroad in the great Chamber; this night we played at Burley Break upon the Bowling Green.

The 23rd Lord *Clanricarde* came hither. After they were gone my Lord and I and *Tom Glenham* went to Mr *Lune's* house to see the fine flowers that is in the garden.

This night my Lord should have lain with me but he and I fell out about matters.

The 24th my Lord went to *Sen'noak* again. After supper we played at Burley Break upon the Green. This night my Lord came to lie in my chamber.

This night being Friday I came to keep my fish days which I intend to keep all the year long. After dinner I had a great deal of talk with *Richard Dawson* that served my Lady, he telling me all the names, how the possession of *Brougham Castle* was delivered to my Uncle of *Cumberland's* folks, and how

Mr *Worleigh* and all my people are gone from home except *John Ruvy*, who kept all the stuff in the Baron's Chamber, the plate being already sent to Lord *William Howard's*.

The 26th I spent the evening in working and going down to my Lord's Closet where I sat and read much in the Turkish History and Chaucer.

The 28th was the first time the Child put on a pair of whalebone bodice.

My Lord went a hunting the fox and the hare. I sent *William Punn* to *Greenwich* to see my Lady *Roxburrow* and remember my service to Mr *Q*. About this time my Lord made the Steward alter most of the rooms in the house, and dress them up as fine as he could, and determined to make all his old clothes in purple stuff for the Gallery and Drawing Chamber.

May 1617

Upon the 1st I cut the Child's strings off from her coats and made her use togs alone, so as she had two or three falls at first but had no hurt with them.

The 2nd the Child put on her first coat that was laced with lace, being of red baize.

The 3rd my Lord went from *Buckhurst* to

*London*, and rid it in four hours, he riding very hard, a hunting all the while he was at *Buckhurst* and had his health exceeding well.

The 7th my Lord Keeper rode from *Dorset House* to *Westminster* in great pomp and state, most of the Lords going with him, amongst which my Lord was one.

The 8th I spent this day in working, the time being very tedious unto me as having neither comfort nor company, only the Child.

The 12th I began to dress my head with a roll without a wire.

I wrote not to my Lord because he wrote not to me since he went away. After supper I went with the Child who rode the piebald nag that came out of *Westmoreland* to M<sup>rs</sup> ——. The 14th the Child came to lie with me, which was the first time that ever she lay all night in a bed with me since she was born.

The 15th the Child put on her white coats and left off many things from her head, the weather growing extreme hot.

M<sup>rs</sup> *Ryder* came here and told me Lord *Sheffield's* wife was lately dead since the King went from *York*.

The 17th the Steward came from *London*

and told me my Lord was much discontented with me, for not doing this business, because he must be fain to buy land for the payment of the money which will much encumber his estate.

Upon the 18th Mr *Wolrich* came hither to serve me, he bringing me news that all *Westmoreland* was surrender'd to my Uncle *Cumberland*.

The 19th came my Coz. Sir *Edward George* who brought me a token from my Lady *Somerset*.

The 24th we set up a great many of the books that came out of the North in my closet, this being a sad day with me thinking of the troubles I have passed. I used to spend much time with Mr *Wolrich* in talking of my dear Mother and other businesses in the North.

This time my Lord's Mother did first of all sue out of her thirds which was an increase of trouble and discontent to my Lord.

The 25th my Lord *St. John's* tailor came to me hither to take measure of me and to make me a new gown. In the afternoon my Coz. *Russell* wrote me a letter to let me know how my Lord had cancelled my jointure he made upon me last June when I went into



the North, and by these proceedings I may see how much my Lord is offended with me and that my enemies have the upper hand of me. I am resolved to take all patiently, casting all my care upon GOD. His footman told me that my Coz. *Russell* and my Lady *Bedford* were agreed, and my Lord *Herbert* and his Lady, and that the next week they were to seal the writings and the agreement, which I little expected.

The 27th I wrote a letter to my Lord to let him know how ill I took his cancelling my jointure, but yet told him I was content to bear it with patience, whatsoever he thought fit.

The 29th I wrote a letter to my Sister *Beauchamp* and sent her a lock of the Child's hair. I wrote a letter to my Sister *Compton* and my Aunt *Glenham*,\* I being desirous to win the love of my Lord's kindred by all the fair means I could.

The 31st Mr *Hodgson* told me my Coz. *Clifford* went in at *Brougham Castle* and saw the house but did not lie there, and that all the tenants were very well affected towards me and very ill towards them.

\* *Anne eldest daughter of 1st Earl of Dorset married to Sir Henry Glenham of Glenham in Com. Suff.*

## June 1617

The 3rd M<sup>r</sup> *Heardson* came hither in the morning and told me that many did condemn me for standing out so in this business, so on the other side many did command me in regard that I have done that which is both just and honourable.

This night I went into a bath.

The 6th after supper we went in the coach to *Goodwife Syslies* and ate so much cheese there that it made me sick.

The 8th being Whit Sunday we all went to Church, but my eyes were so blubbered with weeping that I could scarce look up, and in the afternoon we again fell out about *Mathew*. After supper we play'd at Burley Brake upon the Bowling Green.

The 9th I wrote a letter to the Bishop of *London* against *Mathew*. The same day M<sup>r</sup> *Hodgson* came home, who had been with my Coz. *Russell* at *Chiswick*, and [told me ?] what a deal of care he had of me, and my Coz. *Russell* and my Coz. *George* sent me word that all my businesses would go on well but they could not find that the business or agreement was fully concluded, in regard there was nothing had passed the Great Seal.

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The 13th I sayed [essayed ?] on my sea water green satin gown and my damask embroidered with gold, both which gowns the Tailor which was sent from *London* made fit for me to wear with open ruffs after the French fashion.\*

The 16th M<sup>r</sup> *Wolrich* came home and brought me very favourable message from the Court.

The 19th I wrote a letter to the Queen of thankfulness for the favours she had done me and enclosed it to Lady *Ruthven* desiring her to deliver it.

The 20th I read a letter from my Coz. *George* which advertised me of many proceedings and showed me the care my Coz. *Russell* had of all my business, and within it a letter from the Lady *Somerset*. I returned a present answer to both these letters and sent my Coz. *George* half a buck which my Lord had sent me half an hour before with an indifferent kind letter.

The 21st I spent the time as I did many wearisome days besides, in working and walking. After supper I walked in the garden

\* Ever since the King going to *Scotland* the Queen lay at *Greenwich*, the Prince being often with her till about the time she removed to *Oatlands*.

and gathered cherries, and talked with *Josiah* who told me he thought all the men in the house loved me exceedingly, except *Mathew* and two or three of his consorts.

The 22nd my Lord sent *Adam*\* to trim the Child's hair, and sent me the dewsetts of two deer and wrote me a letter between kindness and unkindness.

The 25th my Lord went up to *London* to christen Sir *Thomas Howard's* child with the Prince, my Lord being exceeding great with all them and so with my Brother *Sackville*, he hoping by their means to do me and my Child a great deal of hurt.

The 30th still working and being extremely melancholy and sad to see things go so ill with me and fearing my Lord would give all his land away from the Child.

July 1617

The 1st still working and sad.

The 2nd received a letter from Sir *George Rivers* who sent me word that my Lord was setting his land upon his Brother and that the value of the fines I released to my Lord was very great, which did much perplex me.

\* *Mr. Adam Bradford, Barber.*

July 1617]

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The 3rd I rode on horseback to *Withyham* to see my Lord Treasurer's tomb [*Thomas Sackville*] and went down into the vault and came home again, I weeping the most part of the day seeing my enemies had the upper hand of me. My Lady *Rich* sent a man hither with a letter of kindness by whom I sent a letter to my Lord desiring him to come hither because I found myself very ill.

The 7th and 8th still I kept in complaining of my side which I took to be the spleen.

The 9th *Marsh* brought me the King's award. The 10th and 11th I spent in perusing that and other writings, the award being as ill for me as possible.\*

The 12th Mr *Davis* came hither to whom I shewed the award, desiring him to make an abstract of it to send down to the tenants. Presently after my Lord came down hither, he being something kinder to me than he was, out of pity in regard he saw me so much troubled.

The 15th at night Mrs *Arundell's* men

\* About this time there was a great stir about my Lady *Hatton's* daughter—my Brother *Sackville* undertaking to carry her away with men and horses; and he had

another squabble about a man arrested in *Fleet Street*. After this he went to the *Spa* and left my Sister *Sackville* to keep my sister *Beauchamp* company.

brought me a dapple grey horse which she has long promised me.

The 16th Lady *Wootton* came here on horseback, she and my Lord having lain that night at Sir *Percival Hart's*,\* and so hunted a deer as far as *Otford*; she stay'd not above an hour in regard she saw I was so resolutely bent not to part with *Westmoreland*.†

The 20th I wrote letters into *Westmoreland* and sent a bow'd angel to *Hugh Hartley's* wife and to Lady *Lother* a pair of Willoughby's gloves.

The same night Dr *Donne* came hither.

The 27th I went to Church (being Sunday) forenoon and afternoon, Dr *Donne* Preaching and he and the other strangers dining with me in the great Chamber.

The 31st I sat still, thinking the time to be very tedious.

### *August 1617*

The 1st I rode on horseback, *Moll Neville*, *Kate Burton*, and as many horses as I could get, alighted at Sir *Percival Hart's*, and a

\* *At Lullingstone Castle.*

† About this time Lord Keeper and all his Company left *Dorset House*. [Q: House.]

Steward went to Lady *Worth*, whither my Lady *Rich* came from *London* to meet me.\*

The 2nd my Brother *Compton* came hither before supper, my Lord came from *London*, this time of his being here he lying in my chamber.

The 3rd in the afternoon we had much falling out about the house which my Lord would have me undertake, which I refused in regard things went so ill with me. This night the Child lay all night with my Lord and me, this being the first night she did so.

The 4th in the morning my Lord went to *Penshurst* but would not suffer me to go with him although my Lord and Lady *Lisle* sent a man on purpose to desire me to come. He hunted and lay there all night, there being my Lord of *Montgomery*, my Lord *Hay*, my Lady *Lucy*, and a great deal of other company, yet my Lord and I parted reasonable good friends, he leaving with me his grandmother's ring. The 8th I kept my chamber all day and at night Mr *Ran* came and persuaded me to be friends with *Mathew*,

\* About this time my Lord *Roos* went over beyond sea, there being great discontent between him and his wife.

About this time Lord

*Zonet* went by sea into *Scotland* to the King and Sir *John Digby* set out on his long expected journey to *Spain*.

but I told him that I had received so many injuries from him that I could hardly forget them.

The 10th (Sunday) I kept my chamber being very troubled and sad in mind.

The 11th my Lord went from *Buckhurst*, beginning his progress into *Sussex*. My Uncle *Nevil*,\* my Brother *Compton*, *Tom Glenham*, *Coventry* and about 30 horsemen, they being very gallant, brave and merry. Mr *Ran* brought me a message from *Matthew* how willing he should be to have my favour, whereto I desired Mr *Ran* to tell him as I was a Christian I would forgive him, and so had some hours speech with Mr *Ran*. The 12th and 13th I spent most of the time in playing at *Glecko* and hearing *Moll Neville* read the *Arcadia*.

The 19th my Lord wrote me a very kind letter from *Lewes* to which I wrote an answer presently. In the afternoon I went to *Penshurst* on horseback to my Lord *Lisle* where I found Lady *Dorothy Sidney*†, my Lady

\* Sir Henry Neville Lord Abergavenny married Mary 3rd daughter of Thomas 1st Earl of Dorset.

† Daughter of Henry Percy

9th Earl of Northumberland. Wife of Robert Sidney eldest surviving son of Lord Lisle who in the following year was created Earl of Leicester. Mother of *Sacharissa*.



August 1617]

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*Manners*, with whom I had much talk, and my Lord *Norris*, she and I being very kind. There was Lady *Worth* who told me a great deal of news from beyond sea, so we came home at night, my Coz. *Barbara Sidney* bringing me a good part of the way.

The 28th *Marsh* came hither, he told me a rumour of my Brother *Sackville's* fighting and many other businesses of my Lord *Essex* and my Lord *Paget*.

The 29th M<sup>r</sup> *Castor* came hither and told me that my Brother was slain.

September 1617

The 1st Sir *Thos. Worth* and his wife came and sat with me most part of the afternoon, they telling me a great deal of news of Lady *Carey*. The Widow *Duck* came from *London* and told me there was no such thing as my Brother *Sackville's* fighting with Sir *John Wentworth*.

Upon the 15th we rid on horseback to my Lady *Selby's*, all this week I being at home and was sad to see how ill things went with me. My Lord being in the midst of his merry progress far out of *Sussex* where he

had hunted in many gentlemen's Parks. Then he went to *Woodstock* to meet the King, and he stay'd up and down at many gentlemen's houses a good while. From thence he went to the *Bath* where he stay'd not above two days but yet returned to *London* till about Michaelmas.

The 29th my Lord came here to *Knole* from his long journey. All this Michaelmas did my Lord receive four thousand pounds of my Uncle the Earl of *Cumberland*, which was the first penny that I received of my portion.

October 1617

Upon the 4th came Sir *Percival Hart* and Sir *Edward* to dine, and after dinner my Lord shewed them his stables and all his great horses.

The 25th being Saturday my Lady *Lisle*, my Lady [blank in MS.], my Coz. *Barbara Sidney* [came?], and I walked with them all the Wildernesse over and had much talk with her of my Coz. *Clifford* and other matters. They saw the Child and much commended her. I gave them some marmalade of quince, for about this time I made much of it.

October 1617]

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The 28th I strung my chains and bracelets with *Willoughby*.\*

The 30th fell the Child to be something ill and out of temper like a grudging of an ague, which continued with him [*sic*] about a month or 6 weeks after.

The 31st my Brother *Sackville* spent the day with playing at cards with my Coz. *Howard*.

November 1617

My Brother *Sackville* and my Coz. *Charles Howard* went up to *London*, my Lord stayed behind, but went upon Monday after to *Buckhurst*, so stay'd there and at *Lewes* till I came hither again. I left *Moll Neville* and *Kate Burton* here to keep the Child company.

The 2nd being Sunday I went to Church with my Sister *Sackville* to St. *Bride's*, and afterwards my Coz. *George* and I went and dined with my Lady *Ruthven*, where I met my Lady *Shrewsbury*. In the afternoon I saw her Lord there. All the time I was at the Court I wore my green damask gown embroidered

\* These 3 days were the last that ever I was in my Mother's Chamber in *St. Austin Friars*, which was the chamber I was

married in to *Richard Lord Buckhurst* who was Earl of *Dorset* three days after I married him.

without a farthingale. The same day I sent the Queen by my Lady *Ruthven* the skirts of a white satin gown all pearled and embroidered with colours which cost me four-score pounds without the satin.

The 3rd I went to see my Lady *St. John*, from there I went to *Austin Friars* where I wept extremely to remember my dear and blessed Mother. I was in the chamber where I was married and went into most of the rooms in the house, but found very little or nothing of all the stuffs and pictures remaining there. From thence I went to my Lo—— [blank in MS.] and so to *Whitehall*, where my [Lady?] *Ruthven* and my Lady *Arundel* told me that the next day I should speak to the King, for my Lady *Arundel* was exceedingly kind to me all this time.\*

The 4th I carried Lady *Rich* to dine with me to M<sup>rs</sup> *Watson's* where we met my Coz. *Russell* and my Coz. *George* and had an extreme great feast. From thence I went to the Court where the Queen sent for me into her own bedchamber and here I spake to the King. He used me very graciously and

\* The 4th day King *James* kissed me when I was with him, and that was the first time I was so near King *James* as to touch him.

bid me go to his attorney, who should inform him more of my desires. All the time of my being in *London* I used to sup privately and to send to Mr *Davis* to confer privately about my said business.

The 5th I carried Mr *Davis* to *Gray's Inn* to the attorney, when I told him His Majesty's pleasure. From thence I went to Mr *Walton's* lodgings to entreat his advice and help in this business, and so I came down this night to *Knole*. The next day my Lord *Hay* was married to Lady *Lucy Percy*.\*

The 17th in the morning my Lord brought my Coz. *Clifford* (though much against his will) into my bedchamber where we talked of ordinary matters some quarter of an hour, and so he went away.

The 19th came Sir *John Taylor* with whom I had some 2 hours' talk of ancient times of my Father and the North.

The 20th I came down to *Knole* leaving my Lord behind me.

The 30th I do not remember whether my Lord went to Church.

\* Sister of Lady Dorothy Sidney.

*December 1617\**

The 8th I was not very well, and Mr *Thomas Cornwallis* the groom porter came hither.

The 9th I spent in talking with him of Queen *Elizabeth* and such old matters at the Court.

The 10th my Lord went to *Buckhurst* where all country gentlemen met him with their greyhounds. All the officers of the house went to *Buckhurst* where my Lord kept feasting till the 13th at which time all the gentlemen went away. Sir *Thomas Parker* was there, my Brother *Sackville* and he had much squabbling. From this day to the 20th my Lord lived privately at *Buckhurst* having no company with him but *Matthew*.

The 15th came Sir *H. Nevill's* lady, I carried her up to my closet and shewed her all my things and gave her a pair of Spanish leather gloves.

The 22nd my Lord and all the household removed to *London*, the Child going before in a litter.

\* The 2nd the Child grew ill with a cough and a pain in her head so as we feared the small-pox, but it proved nothing for within 8 days

she recovered. About this time Lady *Rich* was brought to bed of a son, her sixth child. I should have christened it, but it died in 3 or 4 days.

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The 25th Christmas Day Mr—— [blank in MS.] preached in the Chapel and my Lord and I dined below, there being great house-keeping all this Xmas at *Dorset House*.

The 28th I went to Church in my rich night gown and petticoat, both my women waiting upon me in their liveries, but my Lord stayed at home. There came to dine Mrs *Levisy* and a great company of the neighbours to eat venison.

Now I had a great desire to have all my Father's sea voyages written, so I did set *Jones* to inquire about these matters.\*

### January 1619

The 1st of this month I began to have the curtain drawn in my chamber and to see light. This day the Child did put on her crimson velvet coat laced with silver lace, which was the 1st velvet coat she ever had. I sent the Queen a New Year's gift, a cloth of silver cushion embroidered richly with

\*About this time Lady *Rich* was brought to bed of her 1st Son [*sic*] at *Baynard's Castle*, and in a little while after fell sick of the small-pox.

About this time died *Jem Robins'* man, but he left his master no remembrance, for they was fallen out.

the King of Denmark's arms, and all one with stripes of tent stitch.\*

The 2-3-4-5th I sat up and had many ladies come to see me, and much other company, and so I passed the time.

My Lord went often to the Court abroad and on Twelfth Eve lost 400 pieces playing with the King.

The 6th the Prince had the Masque at night in the Banqueting House. The King was there but the Queen was so ill she could not remove from *Hampton Court* all this Xmas, and it was generally thought she would have died.

The 11th my Lord went to *Knole*.

The 12th the Banqueting House at *Whitehall* was burnt to the ground and the writings in the signet office were all burnt. The 16th came my Lord of *Arundel* and his Lady. The same day I sent my Coz. *Hall* of *Gletford* a letter and my picture with it which *Sar-kinge* drew this summer at *Knole*.†

\* About this time died my Lord *Cobham*, he being lately come out of the *Tower*. He being the last of the three that was condemned for the first conspiracy against the King at his first coming to *England*.

† I brought down with me

my Lady's great trunk of papers to pass away the time which trunk was full of writings of *Craven* and *Westmoreland* and other affairs, with certain letters of her friends and many papers of philosophy.



The 18th my Lady *Wootton* came to see me and stayed most part of the afternoon with me, with whom I had much conference of old matters and of the *Mathew* business.

The 19th my Lady *Verulam* came, my Lord and Lady *Cavendish*, her Lady, my Lord *Bruce*, his Sister, and much other company, my Lady *Herbert*, my old Lady *Donne*, my young Lady *Donne*, with whom I had much talk about religion.

The 20th came my Lord *Russell*, Sir *Edward Gage*, my Sisters *Beauchamp*, *Compton*, and *Sackville* and dined with me, and in the afternoon came my Lady *Bridgewater* and much other company, and my Lady of *Warwick* who told me a great deal of news.

The 22nd here supped with me my Sisters *Sackville* and *Beauchamp*, *Bess Neville*, *Tom Glenham*, and my Brother *Compton* and his wife. I brought them to sup here on purpose hoping to make them friends.\*

The 23rd I came from *London* to *Knole* in a litter, the Child riding all the way in her

\* My Lord came into my room and told me the news of my Sister *Beauchamp's* child's death.

About this time my Sister *Compton* was reconciled to

her husband and went to his house in *Finch Lane*, where they stayed ten or twelve days and then he brought her into the country to *Brambletye*.

coach, I went through the City and over the bridge, but she crossed the water. We found my Lord at *Knole*, who had stayed there all this time since his coming from *London*.

The 24th Sunday here dined Sir *William* and Lady *Selby* and Sir *Ralph Boswell*. All this week I kept my chamber, because I found myself ill and weak.

The 29th in the morning died my Sister *Beauchamp's* daughter M<sup>rs</sup> *Anne Seymour* in the same house her father died in 2 months before; the child was opened, it having a corrupt body, so it was put in lead and the day following *Legge* brought it to *Knole*, which day was my birthday, I being now 29 years old.

The 31st my Coz. *Russell's* wife was brought to bed of a son (it being the 7th child) at *Chiswick*, which was christened in the Church privately and was named *Francis*.

### *February 1619\**

The 1st carried Lord *Beauchamp's* child

\* About this time Lord *William* caused my Coz. *Clifford* to come before the Lords of the Council about northern business, so as the spleen

increased between them more and more and bred faction in *Westmoreland*, which I held to be a very good matter for me.

from *Knole*, where it had stood in his chamber, to *Withyham*, where it was carried in the vault, so now there was an end of the issue of that marriage which was concluded soon after mine.\*

The 2nd my Lord went to *Buckhurst* meaning to lie there private a fortnight or thereabouts. The 8th Lady *Woolton* sent Mr *Page* so see me, and that day I made pancakes with my women in the great Chamber.

The 10th *Wat. Coniston* began to read St. Austin of the City of GOD to me, and I received a letter from Mr *Davis* with another enclosed in it of *Ralph Conniston*, whereby I perceived things went in *Westmoreland* as I would have them.†

The 15th Sir *Thomas Lake*, his Lady, and Lady *Ross*, were sent to the *Tower*. There was nothing heard all this term but the matter between the Countess of *Exeter* and them, at which the King sat [five] several days. It was censured on my Lady *Exeter's* side

\* This line was continued by Lord *Beauchamp's* next brother, the Marquis of *Hertford* of the Civil Wars.

† My Lady of *Suffolk* at *Northampton House* about

this time had the small-pox which spoiled that good face of hers, which had brought to others much misery and to herself greatness which ended with much unhappiness.

against them, who were fined great fines both to the King and her, there was spoken extraordinary foul matters of my Lady *Ross* and reports went that amongst others she lay with her own brother, so as their foul matters did double the miseries of my Lady *Lettice Lake* in her unfortunate marriage. *Sarah Swarton* was fined and censured to be whipt, which censure was not executed, the reason she confessed all that she knew.

In Sir *Thomas Lake's* place Sir *George Calvert* was sworn secretary. My Lord should have gone to *London* the 24th of this month but I entreated him to stay here the 25th, because on that day 10 years I was married, which I kept as a day of jubilee to me, so my Lord went not till the 27th, at which time he rid on horseback by reason of the great snow and was so ill after his journey that whereas he intended to return two or three days he stay'd nine or ten.

The 28th Sunday the Judges came to *Sevenoaks*. I did often receive letters from Mr *Davis* and *Marsh* by which I perceived my motion to Sir *John Suckling* on his behalf took good effect, and that businesses went well to my liking in *Westmoreland*, by reason

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of difference between Lord *William* and my  
Coz. *Clifford*.\*

*March 1619*

The 2nd the Queen died at *Hampton Court* between two and three in the morning, the King was then at *Newmarket*. *Legge* brought me the news of her death about two in the afternoon, I being in the bed chamber at *Knole* where I had the first news of my Mother's death about the same hour. (*Legge* told me my Lord was about to take some physic of M<sup>r</sup> *Smith* and as he could not come from *London* these four or five days yet.) She died in the same room that Queen *Jane*, *Harry* 8th's wife died in, though *Rina* was there when the pangs of death came upon her, but went into another chamber some half an hour before she died.

The 4th my Lord *Sheffield* was married at *Westminster* in *St. Margaret's Church* to

\* About the 20th the King fell into an extreme fit of the stone at *Newmarket*, so as many doubted of his recovery, and the Prince rid down post to see him, most of the great ladies about the town put themselves in mourning and

did watch the Queen's corpse at *Denmark House* which lay there with much state.

The Queen Dowager of *Denmark* was alive when her daughter Queen *Anne* of *England* died.

one *Anne Erwin*, daughter of her [*sic*] *William Erwin* a Scottish man, which was held a very mean match, an undiscreeet on part of him.

The 5th about 9 o'clock the Queen's bowels all saving her heart were buried privately in the Abbey at *Westminster* in the place where the King's mother's tomb is, there was none came with it but three or four of her servants and gentlemen ushers which carried it, and a herald before it. The Dean of *Westminster* and about ten others were by.\*

The 9th my Lord came down from *Knole* and continued taking physick and diet.†

The 17th my Lord went to *Buckhurst* to search for armour and provision which should be laid up by the Papists. This day I made an end of my Lady's Book of Praise of a solitary life.

\* The 9th the Queen's corpse was brought from *Hampton Court* to *Denmark House* by water in the night in a barge with many Lords and Ladies attending it.

† When my Lord was at *London* my Brother *Sackville* fell sick of a fever and was dangerously ill, at length it turned to an ague which continued most of the month, so

as it was generally reported he was dead.

I began keeping Lent very strictly, not eating butter or eggs till the 18th of February. *Moll Neville* kept it with me but my Lord persuaded me, and M<sup>r</sup> *Smith* wrote unto me so as I was content to break it, besides I looked very pale and ill and was very weak and sickly.



*[From the Miniature by Isaac Oliver]*

Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset, K.G.

By kind permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum





The 18th I compared the two books of the *Cliffords* that M<sup>r</sup> *Keniston* sent me down.

The 20th my Lord of *Warwick* died at *Arlington House* leaving a great estate to Lord *Rich\** and my good friend his Lady, and leaving his wife which was my Lady *Lampwell* a widow the second time. This day *Wat. Coniston* made an end of reading M<sup>r</sup> *Saragol's* Book of the Supplication of the Saints which my Lord gave me.

The 26th Good Friday after supper I fell in a great passion of weeping in my chamber, and when my Lord came in I told him I found my mind so troubled as I held not myself fit to receive the Communion this Easter, which all this Lent I intended to have done.

The 27th in the morning I sent for M<sup>r</sup> *Rand* [*sic*] and told him I found myself not fit to receive the Communion. The next day when my Lord heard I had told M<sup>r</sup> *Rand* so much he sent for him and told him the Communion should be put off both for him and his household, except any of them should receive at the Church.

The 28th Easter Day M<sup>r</sup> *Rand* preached in the Chapel but there was no Communion

\* 2nd Earl of Warwick, the Parliament's Admiral.

in the house but at the Church. In the afternoon I began to repent that I had caused the Communion to be put off till Whit Sunday, my Lord protesting to me that he would be a very good husband to me and that I should receive no prejudice by releasing my thirds.

The 29th my Lord went to *Buckhurst* and so to *Lewes*, to see the muster which the county prepared in so much better fashion by reason of their affection to him, which was as much as my Lord hath in any county or can have.

#### April 1619

The 1st day in the morning I wrote in the Chronicles. The 4th there was a general Thanksgiving at *Paul's Cross* for the King's recovery, at which was most of the Privy Council, and the Bishop of *London* preached.

The 5th Lord *Hume* died in *Channel Row*, who married Mrs *Mary Dudley*, my old companion, and left her as well as he could possibly.

The 6th my Lord came from *Buckhurst* to *Knole*. At his being at *Lewes* there was great play between my Lord of *Hunsden*, my Lady of *Effingham*, and my Lord who lost them

£200, and the town entertained him with fireworks.

The 8th there came a letter to my Lord to advise him to come to *Royston* to the King because most of the Lords had been with him at the time of his sickness.

The 9th my Lord went from *Knole* to *London*, the next day he went to *Royston* to the King, with whom he watched that night. My Lord of *Warwick* and my Lord *North* watched with him. The King used him very well so that my Lord came not back till the 13th to *London*, there he stayed till I came up.

The 17th I came to *London*, *Moll Nevill* the gentlewoman, and most of the household came with me so that I left none to wait on the Child but *Mary Hutchins*. Sunday the 18th I went to *Warwick House* to see my young Lady of *Warwick* where I met my Lord of *Warwick*, Mr *Charles Rich*, Mr *Nathaniel Rich*, Lady *Harriet Rich*. After all the company were gone to Sermon my Lord came in thither. This day I put on my black mourning attire and went to my Sister *Beauchamp* where I spake with M<sup>rs</sup> *Bathurst* and told her I did both forget and forgive anything she had done against me and that I had spoken to Lady *Warwick* in her behalf.

Monday the 19th I went to *Somerset House* and sat a good while there by the Queen's corpse, and then went into the Privy Galleries and shewed my Coz. *Mary* those fine delicate things there.

From thence I went to *Bedford House* and stayed with my Lady of *Bedford* a little while, and she and I went to *Channel Row* to see my Lady *Hume* the widow.

This day my Lord, my Lord *Hundson*, and my Sister *Sackville*, christened *Hammon's* child at *St. Dunstan's Church*.

The 20th I went to *Parsons Green* to my Lady *St. John's*, where I met the Spanish friar that is the agent here.

This day and the next my Lord had cocking at the Cock Pit where there met him an infinite company.

The 20th the King was brought in a litter from *Royston* to *Ware*, and the next day to *Tibbalds*, being carried most part of the way by the guard, for that he was so ill he could not endure the litter. Thursday the 22nd I went in the morning to see my Sister *Compton* and found my Brother *Compton* there. I was in the room where my Lord's mother-in-law died, the Countess of *Dorset*, and went up and down the rooms. Afterwards

my Sisters *Beauchamp* and *Sackville* came to see me.

Friday the 23rd I went to *Black Friars* to see my Lady *Cavendish* and my Lady *Kinloss* in that house where my Lady *Somerset* was brought to bed in her great troubles. Then I went to *Denmark House* and heard prayers there, and this night I watched all night by the Queen's corpse. There watched with me my Lord *Carew's* Lady, my Lady *Elizabeth Grye*, and various other ladies and gentlemen, beside there sat up my Brother *Compton*, my Coz. *George*, my Coz. *Thatcher*, Mrs *Renolds*, the beginning of the night there came thither my Lord and my Lady *Warwick*, Sir *H. Rich*, *Charles Rich*, my Lord *Carew*, and Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, but all these went away before 12 o'clock. I came not away till 5 o'clock in the morning.

Saturday 24th my Lord went to *Tibbalds* to see the King who used him very graciously. This night my Coz. *Clifford* came out of the North where matters went more to my content and less to his than were expected. Either this night or next morning Sir *Arthur Lake's* Lady was brought to bed of a son. Sunday 25th after dinner, I and my Lady *Warwick* went to *Denmark House* and went

to sermon in the great Hall, after sermon my Lord came thither to fetch me, so we went to *Hyde Park* and took the air. After my Lord came home he went to see my Brother *Sackville* who still continueth to look ill and is very sick and out of temper in his body. Monday the 26th my Lord's cocks fought at *Whitehall* when my Lord won five or six battles. I went in the afternoon to see my Lady *Windsor*,\* my Lady *Rawleigh* in her house which is hard by *Austin Friars*. Then went to *Clerkenwell* to the house that Sir *Thomas Challum* built.

Tuesday the 27th I put on my new black mourning night gown and those white things that *Nan Horn* made for me. This day M<sup>r</sup> *Orfuir* brought me two of the tenants of *Westmoreland* who craved my assistance against my Uncle *Cumberland*. The 28th my Lord and I, my Coz. *Sackville* and Lady *Windsor* went to the *Tower* to see my Lady *Somerset*, where we saw her little child.† My Lord went to see the Earl of *Northumberland*‡ and I and

\* Catherine, daughter of Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, and wife of Thomas 6th Lord Windsor.

† "Her little Child," Anne

Carr, afterwards married to William 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Bedford.

‡ Henry, ixth Earl, ■ Prisoner since the time of the Gunpowder Plot.

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Lady *Windsor* went to see Lady *Shrewsbury*,\* and after supper my Lord and I went by water to *Channel Row* to see my Lord of *Hertford*† and his Lady where we found my Lady *Beauchamp*,‡ my Lord *Essex*'s Sister, then I went to *Arundel House* and talked with her about Lords being made Knights of the Garter. The 30th my Lord *Southampton* was sworn a Privy Councillor at *Tibbalds*.

### May 1619

The 1st after supper M<sup>r</sup> *Davis* came and did read to my Lord and me the Bill my Uncle *Cumberland* and my Coz. *Clifford* put in the Chancery against the tenants of *King's Meaborne*.

The 2nd when I returned home I found M<sup>r</sup> *Hammers* and his wife here, I told her

\* *Mary Cavendish*, wife of *Gilbert 7th Earl of Shrewsbury*, was sent to the Tower in June 1611, at the same time with her niece the Lady *Arabella Stuart* first cousin of *King James*. Lady *Arabella* died, in the Tower, in 1615.

† *Earl of Hertford* son of *Protector Somerset*, and his 3rd wife *Frances*, d. of *Thomas Viscount Howard of Bindon*,

widow of *Henry Pranell, Esq.*, and married, 3rdly to *Ludovick Stuart Duke of Lenox and Richmond*.

‡ Lady *Frances Devereux*, 2nd wife of *William Lord Beauchamp*, afterwards *Marquis of Hertford*; daughter of *Queen Elizabeth's* favourite, and sister of the *Parliament's* General.

that for my part she had made so many scorns and jests of me she was nothing welcome to me.

The 3rd about two or three o'clock in the morning Sir *Arthur Lake's* wife died, having been grievously tormented a long time with pains and sores which broke out in blotches so that it was reported she died of the French disease. This day *Williams* a lawyer was arraigned and condemned at the King's Bench of Treason and adjudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered for a certain book he had made and entitled *Balaam's Ass*, for which book one *Cotton* was committed to the *Tower* and a long time kept prisoner there upon suspicion of it, but of late got out on bail and was now well acquitted, but *Williams* was carried to *Newgate* and on the 5th hanged, drawn and quartered at *Charing Cross*.\*

The 5th my Lord of *Kent's* daughter Lady *Susanna Longueville* and her husband came and dined with me.

The 6th my Lord sat up playing at cards and did not come home till 12 o'clock at night.

\* The 3rd *Barnwelt* was beheaded at the *Hague* which is like to breed alteration for the best for this man hath long been a secret friend to the Spaniards and an enemy to the English.



The 7th presently after dinner my Coz. *Clifford* came and sat in the Gallery  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour and so my Lord and he went abroad.

The 8th *John* and *Richard Dent* were before the Chancellor, my Coz. *Clifford* and *John Taylor* being present where the Chancellor told them that fr. [?] tenants' rights he meant utterly to break them, willing them to be good tenants to my Uncle *Cumberland*, whereat the poor men were much perplexed and troubled, but I gave them the best comfort and encouragement I could.

Sunday the 9th my Lord and I went not to Church in the morning because *Skinnee* was married that day to *Sarah*. In the afternoon I was not well so neither my Lord nor I went to Church.

My Sister *Beauchamp* came and sat here and my Brother *Compton* whom I made promise me and he gave me his hand upon it, that he would keep his house in *Finch Lane* until Lady Day next because my Sister *Compton* might sometimes come up to *London*. After I was gone to bed I had them into the chamber. Sir *John* was very forward to do me all the pleasure he could, and Mr *Sherborne* promised to speak to the Chancellor in behalf of the tenants.

The 10th Sir *John North* came and told me much news from beyond sea.

The 11th in the morning Lord *William Howard* came up to me in Lady *Margaret's* chamber and conferred with me about an hour, promising to do all the good he could in the Northern business. This day my Lord went to *Salisbury House* to see my Coz. *Clifford*, there being ordinary passages of kindness between them, so that he useth to keep my Lord company at running at the ring and going to *Hyde Park* and those places.\*

The 13th I was one of the mourners at the Queen's funeral. I attended the corpse from *Somerset House* to the Abbey at *Westminster*. My Lord was also one of the Earls that mourned. I went all the way hand in hand with my Lady *Lincoln* after the sermon, and, all the ceremonies ended, my Lord, myself, and the Earl of *Warwick* and his Lady came home by barges, being come home I went to my Sister *Beauchamp* to

\* About this time my Lord of *Doncaster* went to his embassy into *Germany*, being sent by the King both to the Emperor and the [Pope?] to mediate between them.

The 13th. It is past 13

years and a month since my Father's funeral was kept and solemnized in the Church at *Skipton* as Queen *Ann's* Body was this night buried in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*.

shew her my mourning attire. At the funeral I met with my old Lady *Pembroke* and divers others of my acquaintance with whom I had much talk. My Coz. *Clifford* was also a mourner and bare the banner after the Lords. When all the company was gone and the Church door shut up the Dean of *Westminster*, the Prebends, Sir *Edward Zouch*, who was Knight Marshall, came up a private way and buried the corpse at the east end of *Henry* the 7th Chapel about 7 o'clock at night. There was 180 poor women mourners. I went to see Lord *Hertford* (which was the last time I ever saw him) in *Channel Row* and spake very earnestly in *Wood's* behalf, but I could not prevail and his answer was that he would not pay any of his grandchildren's debts after his death.

This night my Lord made a great supper to two or three of the Frenchmen that came over with the ambassador. After supper there was a play and then a banquet at which my Lady *Penniston* and a great many of Lords and Ladies there.

The 15th I went by water to the *Savoy* to my Lord *Carew*, and spoke to him very earnestly in behalf of *Peter Coolinge* and his son for a gunner's place in *Carlisle* and

received a reasonable good answer from him. After the shower was past, my Lady *Dudley* which was my Mother's old friend came to see me and brought her daughter *Margaret* with her.

My Lord and I intended to have gone home into the country and had sent the coach and horses ; about then there came a sudden great shower which stayed our going.

My Lord brought me to *Westminster Abbey* where I stayed to see the tombs and the place where the Queen was buried in an angle in *Henry 7th's Chapel*.

The 17th my Lord and I and all the household came down to *Knole*. I took my leave also of the two tenants and gave them gold and silver. The 24, 25, 26, and 27th I went abroad with my Brother *Sackville*, sometimes early in the morning and sometimes after supper he and I being kind and having better correspondence than we have had. The 31st I stayed at home and was sad and melancholy.\*

\* After I came out of town my Lord Chancellor had the tenants before him and willed them to yield to my Uncle *Cumberland*, at which time he gave M<sup>r</sup> *Davis* bad words.

The 27th my Lord and my Brother *Sackville* and I, Moll *Neville* and M<sup>r</sup> *Longworth* rid abroad on horseback in *Whitby Wood* and did not sup till 8 or 9 o'clock. After

## June 1619\*

The 2nd I rose about 4 o'clock in the morning and rid abroad on horseback and my Coz. *Mary* with me. I was sad and melancholy all night. I brake a piece of my tooth off right before. The 4th I and *Moll Neville* rid about 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning and up to the *Beacon*, and went up to

supper my Lord and I walked before the gate where I told him how good he was to everybody else and how unkind to me. In conclusion he promised me in a manner that he would make me a jointure of four thousand pounds a year, whereof part should be of the land he has assured to my Uncle *Cumberland*.

This term there was great expectation that my Lord and Lord *Suffolk* and that faction would be proceeded against in the Star Chamber but at their suit it was put off till Michaelmas Term. This term Lord *William Howard* put a Bill into the Star Chamber against Sir *William Hatton* and others of my Coz. *Clifford's* faction. This term my Lord kept an exceeding great table, at dinner had much company. He had often cocking and

sometimes with the King at *Greenwich* and won a great deal of money.

The 19th Lady *Rosse's* submission was read in the Star Chamber but Sir *Thomas* and Lady *Lake* refused to submit, for which their contempt they were committed close prisoners to the *Tower*. The 21st Sir *Thomas Glenham* married Sir *Peter Vavasour's* daughter with whom he had a great portion. This marriage was at her Father's house and very private.

About this time my Coz. *Mary* made an end of reading *Parson's* resolutions to me.

\* The 1st my Sister *Beauchamp* took her journey to *Glenham* where she intends to sojourn these two or three years so as her household is dispersed. Only some necessary attendants remain and M<sup>rs</sup> *Batten* came into *Kent*.

my Lady *Selby's* for some bread and butter. This night was the 1st that Lady *Margaret* lay alone, *Maris* having a bed made hard by.

The 6th Sunday I heard neither sermon or prayers because I had no coach to go to Church. All this week I spent at my work and sometimes riding abroad. My Coz. *Maria* read *Ovid's* *Metamorphoses* to me.

The 18th my Lord came down from *London* after supper from the Term.

The 20th my Lord and I went to Church at *Sevenoaks*.

The 23rd my Lord went up to *London* to take up certain bonds which he did discharge with part of my portion.

The 24th my Lord received the last payment of my portion which was £6,000, so as he hath received in all £17,000. *John Taylor* required of my Lord an acquittance which he refused to give in regard he had delivered in the Statutes which were a sufficient discharge.

The 25th the King dined at Sir *Thomas Watson's* and returned to *Greenwich* at night.

The 28th my Lady *Walton* borrowed my Lord's coach and went to *London*, for altogether, as I think for *Jemima*, she came not to avoid the King's importunity for the

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passing of *Purbeck* whereof her son-in-law was made Viscount.

The 30th my Brother *Compton* came here and all his mother's place was delivered to him so after dinner he returned to *Bramble-tie* where his wife lives with him but with many discontents.

July 1619

The 2nd my Lord and Sir *Henry Vane* played at bowls. This night my Lady *Margaret* was 5 years old so as my Lord caused her health to be drank throughout the house.

The 4th Mr *Chantrell* preached at *Sevenoaks*, my Lord having sent for him purposely for that end.

The 19th Lady *Devonshire* came back from the *Wells* and dined at *Sevenoaks* and came not hither but sent her woman to see me.

22nd my Lady *Margaret* began to sit to Mrs [Mr ?] *Vansommer* for her picture.

The 27th about this time my Lady *Bedford* had the smallpox and had them in that extremity that she lost one of her eyes. About this time my Coz. *Clifford's* wife was brought to bed at *Lanesboro* of a son,

which lived not seven hours and was christened *Francis* and was buried there. The same day Lord *Rutland* and Lady *Kath. Manners* came and dined here from the *Wells* and in the evening went to *London*.\*

*August 1619*

The 14th my Coz. *Mary* and I had a bitter falling out. The 15th being Sunday I went not to Church at all. I fell out with *Kate Burton* and swore I would not keep her and caused her to send to her Father.

The 18th Sir *Edward Burton* came hither and I told him I was determined I would not keep his daughter.

The 24th after supper came Sir *Thomas Penniston* and his Lady, Sir *Maximilian* and Lady *Dallison*.

The 25th they stayed here all day, there being great entertainment and much stir about them.

\* This Sunday my Coz. *Oldworth* was true and shewed me those remembrances which are to be set up at *Cheyneys* for my Great Grand Father of *Bedford* and my Grand Father of *Bedford* and my Aunt *Warwick*. About this time my Lady *Law* was married to Secretary *Maunton*. All this Summer Lady *Penniston* was at the *Wells* near *Tunbridge* drinking the waters. This coming hither of Lady *Penniston's* was much talked of abroad and my Lord was condemned for it.



August 1619]

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The 26th they all went away.

The 27th my Lord rid about betimes in the morning and came not in till night. This night the 2 green beds in my chamber were removed.\*

The 30th my Lord sat much to have his picture drawn by *Vansomer*, and one picture was drawn for me.

September 1619

The 21st. All this week I spent with my Sister *Compton*; and my Sister *Sackville*, being sad about an unkind letter from my Lord.

October 1619

The 1st came my Lord *Dacres*, his new wife, my Lady *Wildgoose*, Mr *Pembroke Lennard* to see me and sat here two or three hours with me in the afternoon.

The 2nd *Kate Burton* went away from serving me to her Father's house in *Sussex*.†

\* About this time my Lord intended to keep a more sparing house, put away *Thomas Work* and *Gifford* and took one in their place which was Sir *John Suckling's* man.

The 11th I paid Mr *Beat* 10 pieces upon his return

from *Jerusalem*, who told me much news from *Rome*, *Naples*, &c.

† Upon the 2nd I began to think I was quick with child so as I told it to my Lord, my Sister *Sackville*, and my Sister *Compton*.

The 6th Lady *Selby* was my deputy in christening Sir *Henry Vane's* child. Mr *Walter Stuart* and Sir *Robert Yeakley* were godfathers—the child was named *Walter*.\*

This 10th *Mary* was brought to bed of a boy. The same night I began to be ill.

The 14th came Sir *Francis Slingsby* and brought his daughter *Mary* to serve me who came that night and lay in *Judith's* chamber so that I mean to keep her continually about me.

Upon the 18th at night the Fire Dog play'd with fire, so as I took cold with standing in the window.

The 24th my Lady *Margaret* christened *Mary's* child with Sir *William Selby* and my Coz. *Sackville* and called him *Richard*, but neither my Lord nor I was at Church.†

The 25th came down hither to see me my Lord *Russell*‡ and my Coz. Sir *Edward George*. My Lord made very much of them and shewed them the house and the chambers

\* The 7th *Bess* of the Laundry went away and one *Nell* came in her room. About this time I kept my chamber and stirred not out of it till the latter end of March so as most of my friends thought I should not have escaped it.

† About this time the Gallery was hung with all my Lord's caparisons which *Edwards* the upholsterer made up.

‡ Had succeeded his father as Lord *Russell* of *Thornhaugh* in 1613, and became 4th Earl of *Bedford* in 1627.

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and my closet but I did not stir forth of my chamber.

The 26th I kept *James Wray* a day or two who told me of many old matters and the certain day of the death of my Brother *Robert*.\*

The 29th came little Sir *Harry Neville* and dined here and went back to *Penshurst*.

This night the Drawing Chamber chimney was on fire so that I supped in the new Drawing Chamber with my Lord. After this I never stirred out of my own bed-chamber till the 23rd of March.†

November 1619

Upon the 2nd I had such ill luck with

\* Son of *George Earl of Cumberland*, died in his childhood.

The 28th the *Palsgrave* was crowned King of *Bohemia* at *Prague* and the 25th the Lady *Elizabeth* was crowned Queen.

About the end of this month my Sister *Beauchamp* came from *Glenham* altogether and came to live with my Sister *Sackville* at the end of *Dorset House* which end my Brother *Sackville* and my Lord did lately repair and make fine.

† All this term there was much sitting in the Star Chamber by all the Heads of the Council about my Lord *Suffolk's* business. In the end the answer was given that he should pay six thousand pounds to the King and that he and his Lady should remain prisoners in the *Tower* during his Majesty's pleasure. The 16th at night *Willoughby* came to lie in the child's chamber and *Pennis* to do all the work in the nursery.

playing at Glecko with *Legge* and *Basket* that I said I would not play again in six months.

Upon the 8th shortly after supper when I came into my chamber I was so ill that I fell into a swoon which was the first time I ever swooned.

The 20th my Lord and Lady *Suffolk* were sent to the *Tower*.

Upon the 24th Sir *Francis Slingsby* came hither to me and read to me in the sea papers about my Father's voyages.

The 28th though I kept my chamber altogether yet methinks the time is not so tedious to me as when I used to be abroad.

About this time I received letters from M<sup>r</sup> *Davis* by which I perceived how ill things were likely to go in *Westmoreland* especially with M<sup>r</sup> *Hilton* and *Michael Brunstall*.\*

The 29th all the Ladies hereabout being

\* About this time of my Lord's being at *London* he kept a great table having a great company of Lords and gentlemen that used to dine with him.

All this winter my Lady *Margaret's* speech was very ill so as strangers cannot understand her, besides she was so apt to take cold and

so out of temper that it grieved me to think of it. I verily believe all these inconveniences proceed from some distemper in her head.

The 29th of November was the last time my Lord came to my Lady *Penniston's* at her Mother's lodgings in the Strand. The 30th my Lord and Lady *Suffolk* came out of the *Tower*.

November 1619]

III

very kind to me all the time of my not being well. This day I received a letter and a box of sweetmeats from my Coz. *Hall* which was brought to me by one of his tenants, to whom I gave a good reward, returned her a letter of many thanks.

December 1619

The 2nd *Wat. Conniston* made an end of reading a book called *Leicester's Common Wealth*, in which there's many things concerning the reignment and death of the Queen of *Scots*, which was all read to me.

The 7th I gave Sir *Robert Taxley* my sable muff.

Sunday my Lord neither went to Church nor heard sermon here, because M<sup>r</sup> *Ran* was at *Oxford*. Sir *Ralph Boswell* dined here and played and sung to me in the afternoon.

The 13th my Lord gave me three shirts to make clouts of.

The 14th *Wat. Conniston* began to read the book of *Josephus*.

The 15th my Lord and I by M<sup>r</sup> *Amherst's* direction, set our hands to a letter of Attorney for *Ralph Conniston* to receive those debts which were due to my Lady of the

tenants, and this day he went on his journey to the North.

After supper my Lord and I had a great falling out, he saying that, if ever my land came to me I should assure it as he would have me.

The 18th my Lord came and supped with me in my chamber, which he had not done before since his coming from *London*, for I determined to keep my chamber, and did not so much as go over the threshold of the door.

The 26th there dined below with the gentlewomen Mrs *Care*, *Goody Davis*, and *Goody Crawley*. I writ a letter to my Lord to thank him for a pedigree of the *Sackvilles* which he sent me.

The 27th *Judith* and *Bromedish* aired the furs which came down from *London*, and I spent the time as before in looking at the *Chronicles*.

The 30th and 31st I spent in hearing of reading, and playing at tables with the Steward. About this time my Lord of *Doncaster* came home from his long embassy into *Germany*.

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